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The Whig Party; its objects—its principles—its candidates—its duties—and its prospects.

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF RHODE-ISLAND,

PUBLISHED IN THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL,

IN A SERIES OF ARTICLES DURING THE MONTHS OF SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1844.

BY HAMILTON.

"If Truth has not lost her sway, Reason her force, and Public Justice is not silent, I shall stand vindicated before the American People."

Henry Clay—1827.

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TO THE

PEOPLE OF RHODE-ISLAND.

THE WHIG PARTY,

AND ITS OBJECTS.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

WE are again in the midst of another Presidental contest. The Great Whig Council Fires are again lit up and burning brightly through the land. A spirit of patriotic ardor animates every true Whig bosom. The same feeling of generous enthusiasm—the same fiery energy which bore upward and onward, the Whig banner in triumph and secured to the Whig cause a glorious victory in 1840, blazes from the eye and bursts from the tongue of every true Whig now. The notes of preparation for the approaching Presidential election are every where sounded. The loud bugle blasts from the Whig Press are every where summoning the victorious Whig army of 1840 to the same OLD BATTLE-FIELD of Whig principles. The Whig who falters now, is either a coward or a traitor to the Whig cause.

The Whig party, at all times and in all lands, has raised high the banner of Freedom. Under its broad, bright folds patriots have ever battled bravely against the abuses, the encroachments and the tyranny of power—whether wielded by a monarch on his throne, or a ferocious and despotic party in the halls of legislation. It is a glorious party—the party of the free—the liberal—the patriotic every where. I am proud to belong to it. It has been consecrated by the best blood of both hemispheres. It is the party in which Hampden, Russell, Sydney and their noble compatriots, in the despotic reign of the second Charles, toiled, and suffered and died. It is the party which fought the battles of the American Revolution. The first American blood, which was shed in that great struggle, was as true Whig blood as ever warmed the heart, or coursed through the veins of mortal man. The majestic monument, which rises in simple grandeur from the heights of Charlestown, marks the spot where HE fell, who was the first to advocate resistance to British power, and the first to die a martyr to the Whig cause. Every man who fought the battles of American Independence, from Washington down to the poor but brave, famishing, half clad

soldier, who imprinted the frozen ground with his bleeding feet, as he marched firmly forward to meet the enemies of his country, was a Whig—every inch a Whig. And if the freedom which was won by Whig valor—if the noble Constitution and the liberal Republican Government, which were framed and established by Whig wisdom, are to be preserved to us and our children, and transmitted to future ages unimpaired, it must be done by the beneficent operation of pure Whig principles, by a firm and patriotic adherence to the Whig cause.

The first great interest of every civilized community is the security of life, liberty and property, by a government of laws. Whatever else may be desirable, this is paramount and indispensable. It lies at the very foundation of every thing which men hold dear and sacred. Without this security all other blessings are mere mockeries—all other good sinks into valueless insignificance. Every man in society should feel that the invasion of established authority, resistance to public law, is an attack upon the palladium of individual and public safety. He should feel that with the battering down of this strong bulwark, falls all that is worth possessing.—Whenever popular commotion shall rise so high, and its towering waves dash with such wild fury, that the solid defences of public law shall give way, all our rights, public and private, civil, social, political and religious, will go down—ingulfed in one wide 'submerging maelstrom' of anarchy and blood.

Our Government is in form the freest and the best which it ever fell to the lot man to enjoy. It has during a trial of more than half a century, proved itself, if wisely administered, capable of accomplishing all the high objects of our Federal Union. But its freedom makes the support of general intelligence and virtue in the people, who, through their chosen agents, administer it, the more necessary. Its administration, which does much to give character and tone to public feeling, should be watched with the sternest scrutiny and its purity guarded with more than vestal vigilance.

It must be apparent to the most careless observer, that our free institutions are passing through an ordeal most searching and severe. The elements of disorganization are every where active. The wild spirit of insubordination to established authority—of determined disobedience to public law is every where so manifest and alarming as to a awaken serious apprehensions in the minds of all considerate and patriotic men. And what is most lamentable in the matter is, that those who have had control of the government have been the first to commence this career of violence and disorganization.—When Andrew Jackson struck down the appointed agent of the law, and driving from his post the sentinel of the General Treasury, laid violent hands upon the public money deposited in the custody where the pledged faith of the government had placed it, a blow was given which inflicted a vital wound upon our free institutions, from which they have not yet recovered. That bold and desperate act, followed as it has been by the irregular and informal admission of Michigan into the Union—the repudiation of State debts by the people of Mississippi—the rejection of the properly accredited Representatives from the State of New Jersey, and the admission of members from four States, at the last session, elected in direct and acknowledged violation of an existing law passed by the previous Congress—the sacking of flour stores in New York—the Naturalization frauds all over the country—the Mormon difficulties in Illinois—the murder, in cold blood, of defenceless men in prison, on account of differences in religious faith—the infamous and atrocious Dorr rebellion in the State of Rhode Island, and the secret and stealthy attempt, by stock jobbers, land jobbers, flesh jobbers and office jobbers, to involve the country in a causeless and

disgraceful war, by the annexation of a portion of the territory of a sister Republic to this Union: these and other like acts of a disorganizing and lawless character, which have followed in regular but rapid succession, together with the efforts which have been and are now being made, with too much success, it is to be feared in some instances, to array, in most unnatural hostility, the poor against the rich—the laborer against the employer—the mechanic against the merchant—the farmer against the manufacturer, and the fierce and ferocious war whoop which has been raised against state banks, small bills, chartered corporations, capitalists and credit—all of which constitute the history of one political party, and flow directly and necessarily from the principles, professions and practices of that party, call loudly upon all men who value good government to rally to its rescue and engage heart and hand in the great work of political Reform. I concur, most entirely, in the opinion expressed by JOHN C. CALHOUN, in 1836, that "*the foe is in the bosom of the country and in possession of the government.* A powerful *faction*, (party it cannot be called,) *held together by the hopes of public plunder, and marching under a banner whereon is written, 'to the victors belong the spoils,'* has made *successful war on our institutions, and converted all the power and influence of the government into instruments of gain It is this powerful and corrupt combination in actual possession of the government*, (in 1836) *against which the honest and patriotic have now to wage war.*" And Mr. M'Duffie but proclaimed a melancholy truth, when, in a public letter, dated July 4th, 1837, he said—"The *Federal Government has been for eight years past administered upon principles of corruption, scarcely disguised*, if not *openly avowed;* and the *effects have exceeded anything recorded in the annals of national degeneracy.*"

Our institutions have fortunately so far survived these assaults of a powerful and desperate faction. The sound, conservative, patriotic portion, it is to be hoped, is still the majority of the people. Public opinion has not yet been sufficiently corrupted to embrace all the wild and hideous radicalism of the French Revolution, though much of its destructive spirit is active amongst us. How much longer our institutions could hold out against these repeated assaults of Locofocoism is a problem which, I trust, will never be solved. The result of the present canvass will, I have no doubt, interpose an effectual corrective of these political evils, and give to the friends of republican government, all over the world, assurances of the stability and permanency of free institutions in this Union.

The administration of Washington is the *model* administration of the Whigs; an administration true to its own dignity and the national honor—just, pure and patriotic—free from violence—free from proscription—dispensing good to all impartially, and like the air we breathe, felt only in the benefits which it confers upon us. If the Whig party shall succeed in reforming the abuses which have taken deep root in our political system, and in restoring the high reputation which our country once enjoyed throughout the world for good faith, integrity and honor; if they shall succeed in purifying the government of the bad influences and practices which have for so many years corrupted its administration, and revive a lofty, comprehensive national spirit among the people; if looking only to the public good and the perpetuity of free, republican institutions, they shall succeed in elevating the minds of men to nobler sentiments of their duties as American citizens—to the practice of broad, patriotic, conservative principles; if the spirit, temper and wisdom, which so eminently distinguished the FIRST Whig President, shall hereafter guide and govern our public councils—then will the Whig party have accomplished the high objects of political reform which they now propose to themselves and the country.

Principles of the Whig Party.

The political principles and measures upon which the Whigs plant themselves in the present Presidential contest, and are willing to stand or fall, are—

1st. A Revenue Tariff, discriminating for the protection of American labor, by which a sufficient amount of revenue shall be collected for an economical administration of the government, without the receipts from the land sales.

2d. A sound National Currency, regulated by the will and authority of the nation.

3d. An equitable distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands among all the States of the Union.

4th. A single Presidential term.

Upon these topics, which now command so large a share of the public attention, and a correct decision upon which is so VITAL to the public welfare, I propose to submit a few remarks for the consideration of the people. And first in order and in importance is

THE TARIFF.

There is little difference of opinion among the mass of the American people in respect to the policy of raising the amount of revenue necessary to an economical administration of the government by means of a tariff of duties upon foreign imports; a few only of the more radical of the Locofoco party advocate the expensive and unpopular mode of direct taxation. The two great political parties differ mainly and widely in relation to the *principle* upon which the tariff shall be adjusted. Mr. Polk and the party which supports him contend for a tariff, *discriminating only for revenue*, or which shall collect the largest possible amount of revenue, capable of being collected, from the articles of foreign production upon which it is levied, without any reference to its effect and operation upon the interests of American labor. Mr. Clay, and the party which supports him, contend that in raising the necessary amount of revenue, the tariff of duties should be so laid as *to discriminate for the protection of the industry of our own country*. In proof of these positions, I shall first adduce the declarations of the candidates themselves, and then give the statements of the grounds upon which they are supported, as set forth by their respective friends.

On the 11th of March, 1830, Mr. Polk, in a debate, in the House of Representatives, said that "*he was in principle opposed to the whole system of the protecting policy, called the tariff.*"

On the 14th of December, 1832, Mr. Polk advocated the reduction of duty on wool and woolens, and said, "The wool growers consider the duty upon foreign wool as important to their prosperity. This opinion is founded in error. *My opinion is that wool should be duty free.*"

On the 3d of April, 1843—no longer ago than the last year—in a pamphlet written out by Mr. Polk himself for publication, he said, "He was in favor of *reducing the duties* to the *rates of the Compromise Act, where the Whigs found them on the 30th of June*, 1842. The South, and *he with them*, had voted for the act of 1832, because it was a reduction of the rates of the act of 1828, *though by no means so low as he would have desired it to be*; still it was the greatest reduction which could be attained at the

time of its passage." He adds, "*The difference between the course of the political party with which he* (Mr. Milton Brown, a Tennessee Whig) *acts*, and *myself, is*, whilst *they are the advocates of distribution* and *a protective tariff*—measures which *I consider ruinous* to the interests of the country, and especially to the interests of the planting States—I HAVE STEADILY AND AT ALL TIMES OPPOSED BOTH."

In a letter dated May 17, 1843, Mr. Polk says "*All who have observed my course know* that *I have at all times been opposed to the protective policy.* I am for laying such moderate duties on imports as will raise revenue enough, when *added to the income from the sales of lands*, and other incidental sources, to defray the expenses of government, economically administered. *I am in favor of a tariff for revenue, and opposed to a tariff for protection.*"

In May of the last year, Mr. Polk published the following letter:

WINCHESTER, MAY 29, 1843.

To the people of Tennessee:

The object which I had in proposing to Governor Jones, at Carrollville, on the 12th of April last, that we should each write out and publish our views and opinions on the subject of the tariff, was, that our *respective positions might be distinctly known and understood by the people.* That my opinions were already fully and distinctly known, I could not doubt. I HAD STEADILY DURING THE PERIOD I WAS A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS BEEN OPPOSED TO A PROTECTIVE POLICY, AS MY RECORDED VOTES AND PUBLISHED SPEECHES PROVE. Since I retired from Congress I had held the same opinions. In the present canvass for Governor I HAD AVOWED MY OPPOSITION TO THE TARIFF ACT OF THE LAST WHIG CONGRESS, as being highly *protective* in its character, and not designed by its authors as a *revenue measure.* I had avowed my opinion in my public speeches that the interests of the country and especially of the producing and exporting States—RUQUIRED ITS REPEAL, and the restoration of the principles of the compromise act of 1833.

JAMES K. POLK.

Mr. Clay's opinions upon this great question are so well known, and have been so long, so consistently, and ably maintained through his whole public life, that it seems almost a work of supererogation to state them. So early and so ably, so firmly and so eloquently has he always, from his first entrance into public life up to this hour, advocated a protective tariff and the interests of American labor, that he was, at a period when the protective policy was imperfectly understood by the mass of the people, sneeringly called, by its opponents, "the father of the American system." Now the policy of protection is strong and popular in all the free and in some of the slave States, these same opponents are attempting to persuade the people that Mr. Clay has deserted his own offspring! But that there may be no chance for cavil, the following unequivocal declaration, made by Mr. Clay in a public letter, dated June 29, 1844, is inserted:—

"My opinions, such as they are, have been recently quite as freely expressed at the South, as I ever uttered them at the North. I have every where maintained that *in adjusting a tariff for revenue* DISCRIMINATION OUGHT TO BE MADE FOR PROTECTION."

We are fortunate enough, not only to be able to give the published opinions of Mr. Polk upon the question of protection, but to give a comparison, drawn by himself, of the relative positions occupied by himself and Mr. Clay upon this very question. In a published address dated April 3, 1839, speaking of General Jackson's administration, and particularly of his course

in reference to the tariff policy, with which he admits himself to have been perfectly identified by a community of sentiment and a thorough support, he says:

"On the coming in of General Jackson's administration, all the odious doctrines and principles, and the ultra-federal tendencies of the Administration which preceded it, were suddenly arrested and reversed. The great results of General Jackson's administration belong to the history of the country, and can be but briefly sketched or alluded to in an address like this. In repeated instances he recommended modifications and reductions of the tariff, with a view to the final abandonment of the odious and unjust system. So effectual were these recommendations, and so rapid the change of public opinion, that the FRIENDS OF THE TARIFF, and even Mr. Clay, its IMPUTED FATHER, seized on a favorable moment to save the whole from destruction, by a timely compromise. It was the defence of Mr. Clay with his friends at the North, that by yielding a part, he prevented the destruction of the whole; and in their continued and devoted support of him, the Northern capitalists have shown that they are grateful for the fortunate rescue."

The most skeptical can surely desire no statement more distinct and unequivocal than this declaration, by Mr. Polk himself, of his views upon the subject of protection:—

"In repeated instances he (General Jackson) recommended modifications and reductions of the tariff, with a view to the final abandonment of that odious and unjust system." And "so effectual were these recommendations, and so rapid the change of public opinion, that the friends of the tariff, and even Mr. Clay, its imputed father, seized on a favorable moment to save the whole from destruction by a timely compromise."

Mr. Polk seems really to regret that he and General Jackson were prevented from destroying the whole tariff policy, by "Mr. Clay, its imputed father, who seized on a favorable moment to save the whole from destruction by a timely compromise." This language would seem to prove that Mr. Polk would, if he dared, not only wage war against protection, but against the whole tariff policy, "with a view to the final abandonment of the odious and unjust system;" and that he is at heart, what his Southern disunion friends say he is—an ultra, out and out, "free trade man," and will, "if elected, endeavor to subvert the whole system of protection." If it were necessary to produce additional evidence of Mr. Polk's rancorous hostility to protection, thousands of witnesses in his own State, who have heard his stump harangues against a protective tariff, might be brought to testify to his uniform declarations of opposition to the protective policy. The testimony of the present gallant and distinguished governor of Tennessee, who at the last two gubernatorial elections in that State beat Mr. Polk by very decisive majorities, after a full and fair canvass of every county in company, shall suffice. The following is Governor Jones's statement of Mr. Polk's tariff views, repeated on a hundred stumps to the people of Tennessee:

NASHVILLE, JULY 25, 1844.

Charles Gibbons, Esq.—Dear Sir: By the mail I enclose you two publications of Col. Polk's during the last summer's canvass, on the subject of the tariff, &c. From these publications you will perceive that the Colonel is *dead* out against protection, and particularly opposed to the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands; because, he says, it is a tariff measure. It sounds strangely to us who have been accustomed to hear him, to hear it stated that he is a tariff man, or in favor of protection. I have met him on more *than one hundred* and fifty fields, and I never heard him make a speech in my

canvasses with him, that he did not denounce the principle of protection.—Indeed this was the main ground on which he and his friends relied to defeat me. I was for protection—he against it. I was for distribution—he against it.

The contest is fierce in Tennessee—each party in the field, with all their forces and zeal. In Pennsylvania, I would say, do your duty—we will do ours. Tennessee will maintain her position.

Respectfully your servant,
JAMES C. JONES

The *acts* of Mr. Polk's legislative career, are in perfect keeping and consistency with his public declarations, and prove him to be a more consistent and uniform opponent to the protection of American labor, than even Mr. Calhoun himself, for John C. Calhoun has, during his public life, *sometimes* voted for the protective policy—James K. Polk, *never*.

On the 28th February, 1834, a bill was reported in Congress, by Mr. Hall of N. C. to *repeal* the *protection guaranteed* by the Compromise Act. James K. Polk, then Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, *voted for it.*

On the 17th of January, 1828, Mr. Polk voted *against* a bill reported by Mr. Mallory, of Vermont, for the protection of wool and woollens, and, on the 27th of the same month, he voted *against* the protective tariff bill of 1828.

On the 15th of April, 1830, he voted against a bill "to prevent frauds in the importation of goods and to enforce the tariff of 1828."

On the 14th of December, 1832, he voted in favor of a bill to reduce the duty on wool and woollens, sugar, &c., stating his opinion to be that "wool should be imported duty free."

On the 23d of June, 1832, Mr. Polk voted for the motion of Mr McDuffie, of S. C., to reduce the duty on cotton goods to twelve and a half per cent., and on the same day he voted for the motion to reduce the duties on rolled iron, boots and shoes, leather manufactures, wool, &c.

And in December, 1832, he, as one of the committee of Ways and Means in the House of Representatives, agreed to the report, (as he confesses in a recent letter, in which he admits that his views are the same now,) of a bill repealing the then existing protective tariff, and imposing an average duty of 16 per cent. ad valorem upon the foreign valuation. This bill, generally known as Mr. Verplank's bill, reduced every ad valorem duty, after the year 1835, down to 20, 15, 10 and 5 per cent. After that time, the duty on wool and woolens were by that bill, to have been reduced to 15, worsted to 10, and certain coarse cloths, kerseys and blankets to 5 per cent. That bill would have crushed at a blow every manufacturer, laborer and mechanic in this country. That most destructive bill, which startled and alarmed the people of the free states more than any other act ever agitated in Congress, and from the sure effects of which, had it passed, men now start back with horror—which would have starved the American laborer—prostrated Americnn enterprise, and bankrupted the whole country, was agreed to by James K. Polk in committee, and supported by him in the House! It is a singular fact, that he never did, during his Congressional career of twelve years, in a single instance, vote to increase, but always to reduce protective duties.

That the party which supports Mr. Polk is equally opposed to a tariff, discriminating for the protection of American labor, is made certain by their open and undisguised declarations.

The Charleston (S. C.) Mercury, the organ of the Calhoun party in the

South, says:—" Mr. Polk's views on the tariff, are Southern to the back bone."

The New-York Evening Post, says :—" In supporting Mr. Polk we take the only method of procuring a repeal of the present unjust tariff."

The Savannah Georgian, the leading Democratic paper in Georgia, declares that " Mr. Polk is a free trade man."

The Nashville Union, published at his own door, discourses in this wise: —" We wish it borne in mind, that the oppressive tariff of 1842, has been condemned by every true Democrat, and by none more decidedly than by Mr. Van Buren. That its provisions are viewed with abhorrence by Gov. Polk and all his friends we need not repeat."

The Richmond Enquirer of June 6, says, that " the South is opposed to the principles as well as the details of the present tariff law. They require it to be changed to the revenue standard."

Mr. Van Buren, in a letter to the editor of the Richmond Enquirer, declared himself also "opposed to the principles as well as the details of that bill," and says in his Indiana letter, dated Feb. 15, 1843, that he is in favor of " a discriminating tariff for revenue purposes only."

Mr. Calhoun, to whose friends Mr. Polk is indebted for his nomination as a candidate for the Presidency, in a letter upon the subject of a Presidential candidate, dated January 20, 1844, says—" *Under no circumstances*, shall I support any candidate *who is opposed to free trade* and *in favor* of *the protective policy*, or whose prominent friends are." Yet Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Calhoun's friends now zealously support Mr. Polk for the Presidency, because they say he is pledged to *favor free trade* principles and to *" subvert" the protective policy.*

The Globe, the great party *Globe* itself, of June 3d, says that " the doctrine of a Tariff for revenue only, is the doctrine entertained, universally almost, by the Democratic party.

I might go on and show by the action of the same party, for years past, that they are most decidedly hostile to the protective policy. It might be easily shown that the party which supports Mr. Polk have steadily and on all occasions during the last twelve years, waged a war of radical extermination against the policy of protection, and that at the very last session of Congress, a majority of the members voting of that party in the House of Representatives, voted for a resolution, introduced by Mr. Rhett, of South Corolina, " instructing the committee of Ways and Means to report a bill reducing all duties on imports over 30 per cent. advalorem, to that amount, and providing for a final reduction within two years to 20 per cent. advalorem, with such discrimination BELOW this MAXIMUM as the PURPOSES of REVENUE SHALL REQUIRE."

It is a most gratifying fact that not a single Whig voice was raised, nor a single Whig vote, from any section of the country, recorded in favor of that most destructive proposition.

Having now shown, very conclusively, I think, by the declarations and acts of both, that Mr. Polk and the party which supports him go for a revenue tariff only, or a tariff discriminating for revenue alone, which looks only to the raising of a sufficient amount of money to pay the salaries of the officers of Government, and has no care or concern in regard to its effect upon the great interests of American labor, and that they have, for a long course of years, been and are now opposed to the protective policy; while Mr. Clay and the party which supports him are in favor of a tariff, discriminating for the protection of the industry of our own countrymen—meaning and intending to secure adequate and efficient protection to our home labor, it is proper that the object and operation of these two kinds of discrimina-

tion, constituting the distinctive principles of the two great parties of the country upon this subject, should be more fully explained.

A Tariff, discriminating for Revenue only, or what is generally called a "Revenue Tariff," seeks to collect the greatest amount of revenue possible from the importation of the articles of foreign production upon which it is laid. It has no care whether the same description of articles are produced by American labor or not. From the very nature and condition of things it cannot be even indifferent. It must necessarily, discriminate against the labor of our own countrymen. Looking only to revenue, it taxes with heavy duties articles of necessity, which are not produced by American labor, and imposes light duties upon articles of foreign production which we do not need to import, and which come into competition with the productions of our own mechanics and working men. Such a Tariff would, of course, impose such a duty upon foreign boots, shoes, hats and ready made clothing, as would insure the collection of the largest amount of revenue from the whole amount of importation of these articles. To do this, encouragement must be given to the freest importation of these articles, and this can be done only by the imposition of such a low duty as will enable the foreign importers to command the whole American market—undersell and crush these great and useful classes of American labor. This is a plain, and believed to be a fair, illustration of the object and operation of a tariff, discriminating only for revenue. The principle upon which it is founded is hostile to the labor of our country in all its branches, and cannot be otherwise than destructive to the general prosperity.

A Tariff discriminating for Protection, or what is usually called a "Protective Tariff," proceeds upon entirely different principles. It has due regard to the condition of the world, and particularly to the condition of American labor. The friends of this system perceive with pleasure that the world is now enjoying an universal peace, and that as a consequence, the prosecution of the arts of peace is every where stimulated and pushed with an energy never before known; and that while the European nations are, and have been for a long time, protecting their own home labor by the most stringent restrictions, some of them, and particularly Great Britian, is exerting all her power, all her capital, and all the advantages which she enjoys, to command the markets of other nations.

The advantages which British workshops possess in competing with American labor, for the supply of the American market with such manufactures as the 20,000,000 of the American people need—with hats, shoes, boots, ready made clothing, cotton and woollen fabrics of various kinds, nails, iron ware, cutlery &c., are too obvious to every intelligent mind, to be, by the friends of protection, overlooked or disregarded. These advantages consist in an immense accumulation of capital, which commands only two or two and a half per cent interest, which is less than half the usual value of American capital—in a superabundance of poor, depressed, half starved laboring men, who are compelled to work for what they can get, and whose wages are, at most, two thirds less than the price of what American labor is, ought, and, I trust in God, always will be. The difference in the value, in the two countries, of these two great elements of production—capital and labor—gives a mighty advantage to the foreign manufacturer, which enables him, when unrestricted, to undersell and drive from our own market his more generous American rival, who pays, and glories in paying to the independent working men and women he employs, more liberal wages for their labor. The effect of these advantages, resulting from a difference in the value of the capital and labor employed in the manufacture of the same article for the same market, can be easily illustrated. Suppose that there were

two establishments for the manufacture of boots and shoes, or hats, in any part of our country. One is operated by capital which is obtained at two per cent, and the other by capital which is obtained at six per cent. interest. The one pays 25 cents per day for the labor it employs, and the other pays its labor a dollar per day, and they are both making the same article, to be sold in the same market. How long could a rivalry or competition between two establishments, so operated, last? It is perfectly apparent that the establishment operated by cheap capital and low priced labor could easily undersell and drive from the market the productions of better appreciated capital and better paid labor. This is precisely the relative situation of the work shops of Europe and the United States in competing in almost every department of labor for the American market. It is to counteract these advantages which the foreign manufacturer possesses, to protect the labor of our own working men from the ruinous competition which these advantages inevitably produce, and in fact to secure the American market to the American laborer, to whom it of right belongs, that a protective Tariff is needed. "A Tariff discriminating for protection," therefore, while it taxes lightly the articles of necessity which we do not produce, levies such duties upon articles of foreign production which we do produce, and which come into competition with our own labor, as shall enable the American working man—intelligent, independent and happy as he is, and as I hope he always will be, to enter his own market, at least upon equal terms, and with at least an equal chance of success, without being dragged down to the level of the poor, pauper, starving laboring men of other countries.

The Practical operation of a Tariff discriminating for Revenue, and of a Tariff discriminating for Protection.

I shall have little to say upon the question of the constitutional right of Congress, in the imposition of duties on imports, to discriminate for the protection of American Industry. It was one of the principal objects for the accomplishment of which the general government was instituted, and "a more perfect Union" among the States formed. This power of protection was exercised by the States themselves under the Confederation, though very inefficiently indeed, and was necessarily surrendered to the general government when the Constitution was framed. The very first act of the first Congress under the present Constitution, composed principally of the men who had framed it, and fought the battles of our independence, was a law "for the protection of American manufactures." The right and power of Congress to discriminate for the protection of American labor was thus expressly asserted on the face of the very first act. The fathers of the Constitution were there to maintain the power and exercise it. From that day, until very recently, all men of all parties have concurred in the power and the right of protection, and in the imperative duty of Congress to exercise it when occasion demanded. The denial of this power is comparatively of very recent origin, and has sprung up since the men who made the Constitution have departed. It sprang up in the same soil and at about the same time that that other doctrine, never dreamed of by the fathers of the Constitution, made its appearance, called the right of nullification of a law of

Congress by State interposition, and of the right of secession of a single State from the Union, without the consent of the whole family of States.—Mr. Polk entertains this new and strange doctrine of a want of constitutional power in the general government to protect the labor of the American people, and if elected, will act upon this opinion and wield all the various powers of the national Executive—of recommendation, appointment and general official influence, to break down all legislative protection.

It would be indeed most strange if, while in all other governments, under which labor is depressed and degraded to the lowest point of human endurance—where the laboring man toils on in a kind of perpetual vassalage, from one generation to another, without any prospect or hope of bettering his condition, this power should exist, yet in this free Republic, where labor holds up its head and maintains, as it ever should, a position of proud, manly independence—where the working men on the farms, in the factories and workshops make the laws—make our Presidents, and fill with their children the public Schools, the Colleges, the liberal professions, and the highest stations in society and the government—that here alone in this appointed paradise of free labor—where the mechanic printers have given to the country a Franklin—the shoemakers, a Roger Sherman—the blacksmiths, the second officer in the army of the Revolution—and the factory boys of our own State, one of the ablest and most respected members of the present Senate of this Union—there should exist for our own industry no power of self-defence, no right of protection against the degrading competition of less favored lands. The battles of the Revolution were indeed fought by our fathers in vain, if the condition of their sons is to be shaped, controlled or graduated by any foreign standard—especially if they are still to remain in servile subjection to the condition of foreign labor—in debasing submission to influences springing from the heart of despotism itself. No; this new doctrine of a want of power in the general government to protect American labor, originated with men who despise free labor, and who would, by the certain operation of their anti-American principles, drag it down to the condition of their own slave labor. These anti-protection doctrines come from the *Polk* planters of the South, who now hope, by the election of their Presidential candidate, to add an immense foreign slave territory to this Union, for the avowed purpose of extending and perpetuating the abominable institution of African slavery in our country, and by this foreign aid, to acquire, for the slave section, a political preponderance which will hereafter hold the interests of the free laboring men of the free States in perpetual political subjection to the slaveholding power of the South. Are these such doctrines as freemen should espouse? Is this the condition which the free laborers of the North wish to create for themselves and bequeath to their children? If it is, let them go for "Polk, Texas, and no protection," and they will be sure to provide enough of slavery, black and white, to convert this government—I care not under what form or name it may be administered—into the vilest and meanest despotism which ever existed on the face of the earth.

I come now to the consideration of the practical operation of the two opposing principles of public policy which divide the two great political parties of the country upon the question of a Tariff, viz: discrimination for revenue, and discrimination for protection. This will be more clearly seen by an examination of some of the details of the two tariffs, acknowledged to have been framed by each party for the purpose of carrying out these distinctive principles, advocated by each respectively. The Tariff of 1842 is agreed, on all hands, to be a Whig protective Tariff—was passed by a Whig Congress, and will be sustained, as it is, as a measure of Whig policy. The

Tariff bill reported by Mr. M'Kay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, in the House of Representatives, at the last session of Congress, was confessedly a Tariff discriminating for revenue alone, and, as such, was strongly supported by the party which nominated and now supports Mr. Polk for the Presidency, as a party measure, in opposition to the present Tariff, which was passed by a Whig Congress, meaning and intending it to be, what it is, a Tariff discriminating for the protection of American labor. Here, then, in these two acts, can be easily perceived the operation of the two distinctive principles of the two parties fairly carried out into practical legislation by the parties themselves. Let us see how they "discriminate," and how they respectively bear upon the great interests of American labor.

Wool, costing over 7 cents per pound, pays a specific duty, under the Whig Tariff of 1842, of 3 cents per pound, and an additional duty of 30 per cent. ad valorem—equal to a duty of at least 40 per cent. This wool is grown in abundance in our country—its growth constituting one of the most beautiful, interesting, and, when adequately protected, profitable employments of the American farmer. It was to protect this great farming interest that the Whig Tariff of 1842 imposed this 40 per cent. duty. The Locofoco Tariff of Mr. M'Kay took off the three cents specific duty, leaving only the 30 per cent. ad valorem duty upon the foreign valuation; which was intended to encourage the importation of foreign wool, and thereby increase the amount of revenue to be derived from the whole aggregate importation of this article—the object steadily pursued in framing that bill.—By this reduction, the farmer would have lost 25 per cent. of the protection which he receives by the present Whig Tariff upon his wool. Woolen yarn, by the Whig Tariff, pays a duty of 30 per cent.; by Mr. M'Kay's bill it pays only 25 per cent.—five cents less than the raw material pays by the same bill, which gives a five per cent. bounty to the foreign labor expended upon it. Plains, kerseys, mitts, gloves, socks, drawers, shirts, &c., by Mr. M'Kay's bill, pay a duty of only 20 per cent., which is ten per cent. less than the duty levied by the same Tariff upon the raw material of which they are made, and which is, of course, a discrimination of ten per cent. against the American producer. The practical operation of Mr. M'Kay's bill upon these articles would have been to have caused the American merchant, who would supply the American market, to purchase his wool in Great Britain, France or Germany, and there had these articles manufactured by the cheap labor of those countries, since he could, in this way, save ten per cent. in the duty, besides all the difference between the price of European and American labor. The consequences would have been, that the American workingmen would have lost the manufacture of the articles, and the American farmer would have lost the market for the wool and the provisions which the American laborers would have consumed while doing the work. This is one illustration of the operation of Mr. M'Kay's Tariff bill—discriminating for revenue, which, it is clearly shown, discriminated against the American laborer and the American farmer.

On cheap coarse wool costing less than 7 cents per pound, free of dirt, an article which is not raised in this country, and which can never under any duty, be profitably grown by the American farmer, the Whig Tariff of 1842 levies a duty of 5 per cent.; and upon the fabric which is principally manufactured of this wool—coarse woollen cloths for negro clothing, bedding, &c., it imposes a duty of 15 per cent.—making a discrimination of ten per cent in favor of the American manufacturer. Mr. M'Kay's bill raised the duty upon this coarse foreign wool to 15 per cent., and ruduced the duty upon cheap woollen blankets to 10 per cent. Thus this "Revenue Tariff" of Mr. M'Kay's would again have worked a discrimination of five per cent.

against the American working man. Its operation would have been to give a bounty of five per cent. to foreign labor to manufacture the article, thereby robbing the American laborer of his rightful work, and the American farmer of the privilege of feeding him while he performed it.

Discrimination, to a still greater extent, against American labor was made by Mr. M'Kay's bill in reference to iron and the manufactures of iron.

Mr. M'Kay's bill imposed a duty of $20 per ton upon rolled iron in bars, which is equal to about 75 per cent.; and upon cut nails and other manufactures of iron, a duty of only 30 per cent—45 per cent. less than the duty upon the raw material! Iron, upon which the cheap labor of Europe had been expended, would have fared 45 per cent. better by that Tariff, than iron imported to be worked by American labor into articles of necessary use! An unjust discrimination of forty-five per cent. against the labor of our working men was thus made by that Polk Tariff. And in doing this, its framers attempted to practice a contemptible deception—a base fraud upon the iron makers of Pennsylvania, by making a false show of protection upon their iron, well knowing that they could find no market for the raw material while the various manufactures of iron were to be let in at thirty per cent duty upon a foreign valuation. The American laborers who work in the forges, furnaces and shops of various manufactures of iron, would have been starved out and probably compelled to become producers instead of consumers of the beef, pork, corn, flour, potatoes, &c., which they now purchase of the farmer. A tariff discriminating for revenue, uniformly diminishes the duty as the labor expended upon the article increases, and increases it as the labor diminishes and approaches the raw material. It in this way, steadily, strongly and most unjustly discriminates against American labor, and in effect, offers liberal bounties for the employment of the cheap, starving, pauper labor of other countries. A Tariff discriminating for protection, on the contrary, increases the duty as the amount of labor put upon the manufactured article increases, but always aims to sustain, by the imposition of adequate duties, those articles of raw material which are produced by the mining and agricultural industry of the country—iron, wool, hemp, &c. The real object and the certain operation of a protective Tariff, are to employ fully and prosperously, at generous, remunerating prices, the whole productive labor of the country in all its branches.

The limits which I have prescribed to myself will not permit me to go into the history of the long and severe struggle to which American labor has been subjected in a thirty years' conflict and competition with its gigantic foreign rivals for the supply of its own American market. Upon a review of the past, it seems really miraculous that it has succeeded so well. It has, however, with an energy and perseverance worthy of the independent and indomitable spirit of our country-men, toiled on until it has now reached a point most interesting to the contemplation of every patriotic mind. Justice, however, demands that it should be here stated, that during all these struggles, and at every period of its trials, in 1816, '20, '24. '28 and '42, the labor of our country has at all times, in success and defeat—in sunshine and storm—found in Henry Clay a steady, ardent, and firm friend—a most able, and successful advocate. And though for want of space, the history of its progress and growth cannot be here detailed, a brief notice and cursory survey of the present position and extent of the great interests of American labor may not be out of place.

It is estimated that the twenty millions of American people annually consume articles which can be produced by American mechanical and manufactnring labor, viz; shoes, boots, hats, cotton and woollen clothing, manufactures of iron, glass ware, &c., to the enormous amount of five hundred

millions of dollars. The great question to be decided at the approaching Presidental election is, whether this great market shall be supplied, and this amount of work shall be done by foreign paupers—the living moving machines of foreign capitalists, or by our own free, independent republican working men—whether this immense amount of money shall annually go into the pockets of American labor, or go out of the country to swell the overgrown wealth of foreign lords?

The capital invested in manufactures in the United States in 1840 was $267,726,579—now probably not less than three hundred millions of dollars; and according to the returns of the census of the same year, the annual production of the manufacturing power of the country was $395,832,-614. The number of persons employed and depending immediately upon this business is estimated at 3,000,000. The census of 1840 shows the number of persons engaged directly in mechanical and manufacturing employments, including those operating the mines, to be about 1,000,000 of persons. Now if there is an average of two others, the old and young, who depend upon each of these, we have an aggregate of persons now depending upon the mechanical and manufacturing business of this country, of 3,000,000 of persons. The question, then, to be settled in the choice of our next President, is, whether this vast amount of capital shall be sacrificed or sustained; and whether these 3,000,000 of persons who now annually consume agricultural products to the amount of more than one hundred millions of dollars, shall continue to furnish a great home market for our own American farmers, or these three millions of men be compelled, by the ruin of their present employments, to turn farmers themselves—become producers instead of consumers, and thereby surcharge, with a vast increase of surplus agricultural produce, a market already overloaded with excessive supply.

It has been truly said, that "men manufacture goods when those who consume them will pay more for them than they originally cost;" for then their labor is rewarded; and they will not make goods when they receive for them less than cost, for thus they would starve. WITHOUT PROTECTION, American manufacturers cannot make goods at as low rates as Europeans can; they therefore cannot sell them as low, and the inevitable result must be that Europe will supply our market. "We can under such an arrangement, have no manufactures. The weavers of Great Britain, at twenty cents a day, will weave our cloths; the cheap labor of England will make our carpets, knit our stockings, our mitts and our drawers, sew our shirts, weave our blankets, spin our woollen and worsted yarns; Englishmen, working for the merest pittance, will dig, smelt, and beat into bars the iron we use, and into pigs the lead; English skill and English machinery will make our nails, our chains, our hoops, our hammers, our axes and our hoes, the spikes for our ships, the anvils for our shops, and the sledges to use upon them, our scythes and our muskets, our screws and shears, our needles and pins, our jappanned ware, kettles and crockery; French tailors will make our coats, French shoemakers our boots and shoes, and French hatters our hats. Saxony will grow our wool, and Germany will divide with Britain the honor and the profit of spinning and weaving it. British artisans will make the muskets we handle; British foundries will cast the cannon to guard our ports and our shipping from the insults and the injury of the hostile world; British forgers will make the chain cables by which our ships of war will ride, and in Russian rope-walks will be spun "the very halliards by which we send up the stars and stripes in the hour of naval battle." In short, FOREIGN LABOR will do all for America that must be done—and then America must PAY *for it.*"

Operations of the Tariff upon American Labor.

This question of the tariff is, after all, a question of the rate of wages which American labor shall receive. By a protective tariff, the working men and women of our country are fully employed, and paid generous wages for their work. If Mr. Polk be elected, and protection to our industry struck down, the mechanics and laborers of our country must either give up their work to the workmen of Europe, or they must make up their minds to do it on as cheap terms as the mechanics and laborers of Europe now do it. This result is inevitable. The following table, made up, says the New York Courier, in a very able article upon the tariff, " from the most authentic information concerning the price of different kinds of labor in the various countries of Europe and America, will show the alternative to which American workmen in various trades will be reduced, if the Tariff is repealed, Protection abandoned, and the American System is destroyed—as they will be by the election of James K. Polk.

If this great system is destroyed,

Cotton Weavers, (men) who get, per day, 80 cents, must work for 26.

Cotton Weavers, (women) who get, per day, 33 cents, must work for 18.

Cotton Weavers, (girls) who get, per day, 30 cents, must work for 10.

Silk Weavers who get, per day, 50 cents, must work for 11.

Weavers of Broadcloth who get, per yard, 50 cents, must work for 18.

Spinners who get, per lb., 10 cents, must work for 3 cents.

Ship Carpenters who get, per day, $1,75 must work for 50 cents.

Brush Makers, (men) who get, per day, $1,00, must work for 20 cents.

Brush Makers, (women and boys) who get fifty cents, must work for 10 cents.

Hatters who get, per silk hat, 55 cents, must work for 25 cents.

Hatters who get per fur hat, $1,10, must work for 60 cents.

Straw Hat makers who get, $1,00, must work for 20 cents.

Paper makers, (men) who get, per week, $8,00, must work for $1,75.

Paper makers, (women) who get, $2,75, must work for 55c.

Floor Cloth makers, who get, per day, $1,00, must work for 25c.

Sail makers who get, per set, $2,50, must work for $1,75.

Sail makers, (journeymen) who get, per day, $2,00, must work for $1,40.

Cordage makers who get, per day, $1,00, must work for 16c.

Shoe makers who get, per day, $1,30, must work for 45c.

Tailors who get, per week, $9,00, must work for $4,00.

Cabinet makers who get, per week, $10,00, must work for $4,00.

Day laborers who get, per day, 85 cents, must work for 27c.

Makers of pig iron who get, per ton, $20,00, must work for $10,00.

Makers of iron ware who get, per ton, $30,00, must work for $12,00.

Makers of wrought iron who get $60,00 per ton, must work for $40.

Thus mechanics and manufacturers, with all other classes of manual laborers, with all who depend for a living on making, by labor, the raw material into articles of use, *must reduce the* WAGES OF THEIR LABOR *in the ratio indicated by the above table, or they must* QUIT THE BUSINESS!!

The destruction of the AMERICAN SYSTEM leaves them no other alternative. Let us now see how the *aggregate annual earnings* of several classes of these laborers would be affected. The number of persons engaged in each branch of business is taken from the census returns of 1840:

Cotton Weavers, who now get $18,000,840, would then get $5,850,000.

Tailors in the U. S., who get $18,720,000, would then get $8,320,000.

Shoe makers in Mass., who get $15,000,000, would then get $5,400,000.
Cabinet makers, who get $9,360,000, would then get $3,744,000.
Paper makers, who get $3,432,000, would then get $750,360.
Cordage makers, who get $1,500,000, would then get $240,000.
Woolen cloth weavers, who get $4,800,000, would then get $1,200,000.
And nearly the same proportion would hold good for all the mechanics and manufacturers throughout the country."

Mr. Polk's position upon the tariff question, has been very clearly defined by himself. On the 3d of April, 1843, he said, "I am for repealing the act of 1842, (the present Whig tariff,) and reducing the duties to the rates at which they were, on the 30th of June, 1842;" (20 per cent. horizontal,) and in the last letter which he has written upon the subject, dated June 19, 1844—only 90 days since—addressed to John K. Kane, of Philadelphia, Mr. Polk says, "My opinions on this subject (the Tariff) have been often given to the public. They are to be found in my public acts, and in the public discussions in which I have participated." Here then we have Mr. Polk's present opinions. He does not pretend that his views have undergone any recent change. They are what they were on the 3d of April of last year, when he declared that he was "for repealing the act of 1842, and reducing the duties to the rates at which they were on the 30th of June, 1842"—20 per cent. throughout on all goods made dutiable by that act.—Mr. Clay's position no man can misconceive. He stands firmly by the present tariff, and goes for its maintenance entire, just as it is, without alteration or modification. In a letter dated the 9th of the present month, in answer to two questions put by some Pennsylvania democrats, to both Presidential candidates, viz: "Are you in favor of the Tariff Act of 1842," and "would you, if elected, support that act as it is, without modification," to which Mr. Polk has not *dared* to return a reply, Mr. Clay says:

"I have so often, gentlemen, expressed my opinion in favor of the Tariff of 1842, that the only regret I feel is, that you should deem it at all necessary to request any renewed expression of it. Nevertheless, I take pleasnre in complying with your request, in saying that I am of opinion that the tariff of 1842 has been eminently salutary; THAT I AM DECIDEDLY OPPOSED TO ITS REPEAL; that I should regard its repeal as a great national calamity; and that I am unaware of the necessity of any modification of it. I am therefore opposed alike to its repeal or modification. A fixed and stable policy is what the country now most needs, and I sincerely hope that the tariff of 1842 may be maintained, and thus afford a security to that desideratum."

Let the mechanics, manufacturers and farmers of the United States compare, as it is their duty to themselves and their country to do, the difference in the operation of these two tariffs upon their respective interests, and they will perceive at a glance the rate of protection they may expect in the event of the election of Mr. Clay or of Mr. Polk:

		Per cent.	*Per cent.*
Shoemakers,	Mr. Clay gives you	60	Polk 20
Hatters,	" " " "	55	" 20
Tailors,	" " " "	50	" 20
Blacksmiths,	" " " "	45	" 20
Tanners,	" " " "	43	" 20
Tinners,	" " " "	43	" 20
Ironmasters,	" " " "	$25 per ton	" $6,33
Wool manufacturers,	" " " "	40	" 20
Cotton, do.	" " " "	140	" 20
Glass, do.	" " " "	120	" 20
[illegible]	" " " "	80	" 20

Carpet Weavers,	Mr.	Clay	gives	you	45	Polk	20
Farmers, on wool,	"	"	"	"	40	"	20
Spirits,	"	"	"	"	155	"	20
Wheat,	"	"	"	"	40	"	20
Beef and pork,	"	"	"	"	120	"	20
Cheese,	"	"	"	"	70	"	20
Coal,	"	"	"	"	40	"	20

and to all others in the same proportion.

The great Practical Question for the decision of the American People.

The great practical question for the decision of the American people now is, whether, by the election of Mr. Clay, they will sustain the present tariff as it is—or, by the election of Mr. Polk, go back to the run down Compromise Act, as it stood on the 30th of June, 1842. What Rhode Island man—what American, can doubt on which side of such a question it is his duty to plant himself, and battle for success, with all the energy that God has given him. The American people surely cannot have so soon forgotten the clouds and darkness which enveloped the whole country during the last years of the Compromise Act. The almost universal embarrassment and bankruptcy of business men—the general suspension of specie payments by the State banks—the loud cry for employment by the mass of laboring men—the prostration of State and National credit at home and abroad, mark the period of the *five years* immediately preceding the 30th of June, 1842, as the most disastrous in the whole history of this country. Other causes may have co-operated, and no doubt did co-operate to produce that whirlwind of almost universal bankruptcy; but the most powerful and controlling cause, unquestionably, was the low rate of duties under the rapidly declining scale of the Compromise Act, which flooded the country with foreign goods to the impoverishment of the nation, and the detriment of all branches of our home labor. It appears by the treasury returns, that during the eleven years from 1831 to 1841, inclusive, the imports of this country exceeded its exports, to the enormous amount of $216,428,448! This vast foreign balance against us, of more than two hundred millions of dollars, drained the country of its specie, and had a mighty agency in producing that great convulsion which overwhelmed alike individuals, corporations and States. That the low duties during the last years of the Compromise Act, and the consequent large balance of imports over our exports during that period, did drain the country of its specie, and that the present tariff has been constantly restoring it, is capable of absolute demonstration. We find by the annual statement of the Secretary of the Treasury of the commerce and navigation of the United States for the year ending September 30, 1842, that the imports and exports of specie and bullion by the Custom House returns, were as follows:

Amount of Imports of specie and bullion during the year ending Sept. 30, 1842,	$4,087,016
Amount of Exports of specie and bullion during the same period,	4,813,539
Excess of Exports of specie,	$726,523

By the statement of the same officer for the last quarter of the calendar year 1842, and the first two quarters of the year 1843, (being the first nine months of the tariff of 1842) it appears that, during these nine months of Whig protection, the imports and exports of specie and bullion were as follows:

Amount of Imports of specie,	$22,320,335
Amount of Exports of do.	1,520,791
Excess of Imports of specie,	$20,799,544

This balance of more than $20,000,000 "was brought into the country, and kept in the country," as Mr. Clayton in his Lancaster speech truly says, "by the Whig tariff during the first nine months after its operation commenced."

Take another statement from the same Treasury document, showing the amount of exports and imports during the same period of Whig protection:

Amount of Exports during the last quarter of 1842, and two first quarters of the year 1843,	$84,346,480
Amount of Imports during same period,	64,753,799
Balance in favor of this country,	$19,592,681

It also appears by the same high authority—the Treasury statement—that the tonnage of the United States decreased 90,000 tons during the years 1841 and 1842, and that more than two-thirds of that loss, viz: 66,212 tons, was restored to the American tonnage during the first nine months of the operation of the present Whig Tariff.

From these undoubted official statements, it seems to me that no man can dodge the conclusion, that the business of the country, the currency and the credit of the country ran down with the rapidly declining scale of the Compromise Act; and that the present Whig Tariff has restored the national credit—reformed the currency—revived the business and prosperity of the country, and filled the general treasury with an abundant revenue.

The great practical question then, I repeat, now is—shall this Tariff, whose operation, upon all interests, has been so salutary and beneficent, stand or fall? Mr. Clay says it shall *stand*, without any modification, if he is elected. Mr. Polk says that he shall go for *its repeal*, and the restoration of the rates of duty as they stood at the lowest point of the Compromise Act on the 30th of June, 1842. Let American freemen weigh well the momentous results of this election, and then, upon their consciences, before God, and under a deep sense of responsibility to their country, decide between these candidates for their suffrages.

Operation of Protection on the Agricultural Interest.

Attempts have been and are *now* being made by the opponents of the protective policy, to impress upon the farmers of the country the opinion that the mechanical and manufacturing interest is antagonistical to the *agricultural* interest. Nothing can be more erroneous and unjust than such a statement. If there is any thing which political economy and the universal experience of mankind have sealed with the absolute certainty of truth, it is that agriculture flourishes *best* when surrounded by other *prosperous* industrial pursuits. If there were none but farmers, to whom would each individual farmer sell his surplus produce? It is in the multiplicity and diversity of pursuits that each division of the great community of labor must look for its true interest and sure rewards. When other industrial pursuits flourish, the farmer is certain to prosper—when they, from any cause whatever, decline, the agriculture, which feeds them, must languish also. There is not an American farmer, great or small, within the wide limits of this land, who is not benefitted by the prosecution and prosperity of the mechanical and manufacturing labor of the northern and middle States. The miller purchases the wheat of the farmer, and, having converted it into flour, forwards it to the great marts of trade, to be bought up and consumed by the

millions engaged in the mechanical and manufacturing establishments of the North. Where so certainly as in the manufacturing districts does the corn of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and even of Illinois and Indiana, find a market? The amount of butter, cheese, pork, lard, wool and grain which is annualy purchased of the farmers of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, to be consumed in the manufacturing districts of New England, is enormous. If this great and certain home market should fail, where could the American farmer look for an equal substitute? There is no foreign market open for his produce. France prohibits its introduction altogether. England would not take these articles of agricultural labor of us, even if we were unwise enough to admit her manufactures free. A wise home policy and a prudent self-interest, have led her to shut out the agricultural products of other countries, by stringent tariff laws, which she manifests no disposition to alter or modify. The agricultural interest cannot possibly gain any thing, but must inevitably lose much, by the destruction or depression of the manufacturing interest. Let every intelligent farmer reflect *when* it is that the farming business is generally the most prosperous. Is it not at the periods when the mechanical and manufacturing business is the most flourishing—employs the most men, and consequently consumes the most of the farmer's surplus produce? When all the great divisions of mechanical and manufacturing labor are in full and successful operation, they send a healthful and invigorating influence throughout the whole land, quickening and stimulating all other departments of American industry into vigorous action and corresponding prosperity. Strike down this great interest which now employs three millions of persons, to be fed by the farmers of our country, and convert these mechanical and manufacturing millions into producers, instead of consumers, and what a mighty change would come over the prospects of the farming interest!

"Of all the pursuits of man," says Mr. Clay, in one of his recent letters, "I consider the cultivation of the earth as the most honorable. It is MY OWN pursuit. The principal aim in introducing manufactures was to benefit agriculture by opening a new home market for its surplus productions." This is no *new* idea with Mr. Clay. It is as old as the American protective policy, which was at first *forced* upon this country by a great change in the condition and policy of the great nations of Europe.—When those nations were engaged in a general war, and some four or five millions of their subjects were arrayed in arms, the agriculture of the United States enjoyed a very great degree of prosperity, in feeding those immense armies with its produce, which, in consequence of the disordered state of things abroad, greatly increasing the cost of European production, commanded high prices. But when at the great battle of Waterloo, the dragon career of Napoleon was brought to a final close, and the general peace which ensued disbanded those large European armies—those millions of armed men, who had been the consumers, to a large extent, of our agricultural produce during those wars, returned again to cultivate their own fields of agriculture, and swell the stores of the foreign supply. The different governments of Europe, with a wise care, it must be admitted, for their own interests, passed restrictive tariff laws, securing their own respective markets to their own agricultural labor.

Thus excluded from the markets of Europe, the *farming interest* of this country began to feel the severe pressure of the new state of things. It was under these circumstances, and at that gloomy period in the history of American agriculture, that the great Statesman, whose wisdom has proved equal to every crisis—the patriotic and successful PILOT who has weathered for his country every storm—came forward with his system of American policy, to create an *American home market* for the *American farmer's sur-*

plus produce. In his great speech in favor of the tariff of 1824—the greatest and best, in my humble opinion, which he or any other American statesman ever made, Mr. Clay says:—

"Our Agricultural is our *greatest interest.* It *ought ever to be predominant.* All others should *bend to it.* And in considering what is for its advantage, we should contemplate it in all its varieties of planting, farming and grazing. Can we do nothing to invigorate it—nothing to correct the errors of the past, and to brighten the still more unpromising prospects which lie before us? We have seen, I think, the causes of the distresses of the country. We have seen that an exclusive dependence upon the *foreign market* must lead to still severer distress—to impoverishment—to ruin. We must, then, change somewhat our course. We must give a new direction to some portion of our industry. We must speedily adopt a GENUINE AMERICAN POLICY."

Mr. Clay on that occasion showed that "the creation of a *home market,*" was not only necessary, to procure for agriculture a just reward for its labors, but indispensable to enable the American people to obtain a supply for their necessary wants. "If we cannot *sell,*" said he, "we cannot *buy.*—There must be an *ability to purchase,* if an article be obtained, *whatever may be its price.*" He demonstrated that this "home market" could be created only by "the adoption of a genuine American system," which would secure our industry against "the inevitable prostration which must ensue from the action of foreign policy and legislation." "We must," said he, "NATURALIZE THE ARTS in our country; and we must NATURALIZE them by the only means which the wisdom of nations has yet discovered to be effectual—by ADEQUATE PROTECTION against the otherwise overwhelming influence of foreigners."

This protective policy has built up a great mechanical and manufacturing system in our country, which enables the American farmer to BUY, at a cheaper rate, whatever he needs to purchase, and to SELL, at a higher price, whatever he wishes to dispose of. Its effect has been to strongly and steadily reduce the price of every manufactured article upon which it has operated. Those who can remember the prices of articles of clothing in 1818, know that shirtings which then cost 25 cents per yard, can now be purchased for 6 cents; that sheetings which then cost 25 cents, can now be purchased for 8 cents; that cotton checks which were then 32 cents per yard, are now 8 cents; bedticking which was then 60 cents per yard, is now 15 cents; sugar which was then 15 cents, is now 6 cents; salt which was then 58 cents per bushel, is now 28 cents, and the same reduction has taken place on nails, spikes, hoes, shovels, scythes, leather and other articles of general use among farmers, upon which the protective policy has had a chance to operate. Protection has enlisted Yankee enterprise, and Yankee energy in the manufacture of these articles, which has created COMPETITION in the MARKET, increased the aggregate supply of these goods and BROUGHT DOWN PRICES. The large investments of capital, the increase of skill, and the improvements in machinery, which are among the *immediate* causes of the reduction of prices, are themselves the RESULTS of this protective policy. Every successive protective Tariff, has seemed to serve only to knock down the prices of all kinds of domestic manufactures still lower. This result has already followed the passage of the present Tariff on many articles which farmers have need to purchase. In one of the thousands of political conversions, from Locofocoism to Whig principles, which are now taking place all over the country, I find such sound, sensible, patriotic reasons given for the change, that I am induced to insert the most material, for the double purpose of illustrating this point of the reduc*tion of prices,* caused by the present protective Tariff, and with the hope

that others may see the light and be influenced by his reasons to follow his example. WILLIAM RATTLE, a highly respectable and influential *democratic* mechanic of Cuyahoga Falls, Summit county, Ohio, in publishing the reasons which will influence his vote *against* Mr. Polk and in *favor* of Mr. Clay, at the ensuing election, says :—

"I have always acted with the *Democratic Party*, but I cannot vote for *James K. Polk for President*, without a surrender of principles and opinions which I am not willing to make. I do not abandon the miscalled Democratic party from any personal motive, but from a *clear conviction* that they have departed, *widely* departed, from the true Democratic faith; and because I believe the measures now advocated by the Polk party, fatal to the prosperity of the country. Mr. Polk, it is well known, is opposed to the protection of our home industry. He advocates the policy that would support the workshops of Europe, and shut up our own: his free trade policy, or incidental protection, which is the same thing, produces low prices for labor, barter and exchange trade instead of cash, drains us of the precious metals to pay for *foreign labor*, and will, in the end, place our labor on a level with the *pauper labor* of Europe. I know it is said in some quarters that Mr. Polk is a friend to the tariff policy, but this is a gross deception. Mr. Polk is not a friend of protection, and his whole political career shows him opposed to the tariff policy. Read his speeches in Congress and on the stump—examine his votes and you will find that he goes as far as the farthest for *free trade*.

Now I have examined the tariff policy with some care, and I assert *that every manufactured article which has been subject to the steady influence of protection has been reduced in price to the consumer*. I appeal to the following statistics of trade and the price currents to satisfy me. The following is a table of prices in the city of New York, of thirty-four articles, for the accuracy of which I will vouch:

PRICES OF VARIOUS ARTICLES IN 1841 AND 1844.

	Jan. 1841.	Jan. 1844.
Russia Hemp per ton,	$216 00	$180 00
Tar, per bbl.	1 68	1 58
Turpentine, per gallon,	2 38	2 12
Anchors, per lb,	08	06 1-2
Sheathing Copper, per lb,	23 3-4	21
Copper Bolts, American, per lb,	24 3-4	23 3-4
Anvils, per lb,	9 1-2	8 1-2
Iron Bars, com. English, per ton,	77 00	55 75
" " American refined,	90 00	67 50
Wrought Nails, per lb,	11 1-2	09
Cut Nails, per lb,	05 1-4	04 1-4
Scythes, per doz,	13 00	9 00
Spikes, per lb,	08	06
Wire, below No. 14,	08	06 1-2
Heavy Axes, per dozen,	18 00	13 00
Pint 8 Flute Tumblers, per dozen,	2 25	1 35
Gill 6 " " "	1 12	55
Taper Bar Tumblers, "	1 35	98
Tulip salt, " "	2 25	1 35
Square salt, "	90	68
Seven inch dish, "	2 25	1 68
Peg Lamps, "	1 00	72
Night Lamps, "	1 58	1 12
Square Sugars, "	6 75	3 60
Shirtings, 27 inches,	5 3-4	5 1-4
Shirtings, 30 "	6 3-4	6 1-2
Sheetings, 40 "	9 2-3	9
Drillings, 40 "	9 1-2	8 1-4
Jeans, 30 "	14	9 1-2
Leather, (Philadelphia)	31	24
Leather, red (New York)	23	17
Leather, (Boston)	23	18
Leather, Eastern dry Hides,	21	16

I might extend this list, and the same result would be produced, but it would be tedious. I challenge contradiction to this point, that every manufactured article which has long been subject to the steady influence of protection, has been *reduced in price to the consumer*. Why should not this be the case? Does not protection give activity to the manufacturing industry, and largely increase the supply of all kinds of fab-

ries? And is it not an universal law of trade that *increased supplies cheapen the* commodities?

The tariff not only cheapens the cloth we wear and the utensils we use, &c., but it advanced the price of labor in the revival of business which followed the passage of the tariff act of 1842. The laborers and mechanics were among the first to be benefitted. What mechanic does not well recollect the state of things that existed during the year 1842, and prior thereto? The factories were still, and the workshops idle; and when employment was obtained, it was, in most cases, for low wages, and the laborer received his pay in some barter trade.

How is it now? All kinds of labor are in demand—prices of labor have advanced full 50 per cent. over those of '42, and they get ready cash. A measure so full of *benefits* and blessings to the *laboring man*, I cannot and will not oppose. I am myself a *Mechanic*, and know how to appreciate these things.

I am not alone in the opinions and views I have expressed. A large number of individuals in this country oppose the doctrines of the *Polk party*—doctrines which are at war with the prosperity of the country; and if they (the people) had the *independence* to speak out against the measures which they disapprove, Mr. Polk would not, in my opinion, have a "Corporal's Guard" of supporters in this country.

They are sick of the policy which is constantly introducing *new tests* into the *Democratic creed*, and requiring us, on pain of excommunication, to adopt them. I am satisfied with *old fashioned Democracy*—it is good enough for me, and I will support those men, and those only, who come near the *old land-marks* of *Democracy*."

Now take one of the articles which the farmer has to SELL—the article of WOOL, which Mr. Polk says "should be DUTY FREE." Without protection it could be imported cheaper than the American farmer could afford to grow it. The cheaper wool of Saxony, Spain and Germany, would come in, undersell and reduce the price of the home production so low that the American wool grower would be compelled to abandon the business. Now the quantity of the wool annually grown in the United States is fifty millions of pounds. This wool, at an average price of 40 cents per pound, would make the value of the wool annually grown in the United States, amount to the sum of TWENTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. This great farming interest can be sustained only by means of a protective tariff.

The price of wool has risen under the operation of the present Whig protective tariff, which Mr. Polk proposes to repeal, so that wool may be "imported duty free," at least 12 cents per pound. I take from the Poughkeepsie Journal the following account of a sale of wool, of the same quality, by the same individuals, during the years 1843 and 1844:

	lbs.	1843.	1844.	Adv. per lb.	Total. adv.
Phineas K. Sacket,	991	40c	50c	10	$99 10
Stephen G. Gurnsey,	1203	40	50	10	120 30
John T. Sacket,	555	40	50	10	55 50
Alonzo Haight,	600	46	56	10	60 00
Morgan Carpenter,	3387	40	55	15	508 65
Jacob N. Haight,	762	42	53	11	83 82
Abraham Bockee,	965	40	50	10	96 50
Robert Hoag,	2637	46	55	9	237 33
John A. Thompson,	994	42	54	12	119 28
Allen Thompson,	1217	42	54	12	146 04
Artemas E. Sacket,	840	40	50	10	84 00

This sale shows an average increase of price the present year over that of the last, caused by the full and successful operation of the present protective Tariff, of about 12 cents per pound. This rate of rise upon the whole quantity of wool annually produced in the country, proves that an *increased* profit of six millions of dollars has, this year, been put into the pockets of American farmers by the operation of the present Whig Tariff.

The policy of protection to American labor in all its branches—mechanical, manufacturing, agricultural and commercial, is calculated to increase

the power, the wealth and greatness of our country. It has already built up a great mining, mechanical, and manufacturing interest at home, which supports *three millions* of persons, and, according to the work of Professor Tucker, consumes annually raw materials alone, to the amount of ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOUR MILLIONS of dollars, with a further amount in food and provisions, of at least ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY MILLIONS more—making in all, a home market for our agricultural produce of more than THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS EVERY YEAR!!! This great market, too, it should be always remembered, is our own—under our own control—certain, convenient and secure. It cannot be disturbed by the action of any other power on earth. Now suppose this vast market should this day be struck out of existence by the destruction of the great mechanical and manufacturing interest which constitutes it, where could the farmers of our country look for a substitute? Would an enormous decrease of the number of MOUTHS which now CONSUME, and an almost indefinite multiplication of the ARMS which would then PRODUCE, remedy the evils of an OVERLOADED agricultural market? The man who should in terms propose such a remedy, would be adjudged fit only for the mad-house. Yet this is precisely the entertainment to which Locofoco anti-protection doctrines would invite American farmers. If every forge, factory and workshop in America, should be to-morrow struck out of existence, the other nations of the world would not buy one dollar's worth *more* of our agricultural produce than they *now* do; for they now take only what they are compelled to take by the DIREST NECESSITY. The whole amount of the exports of our agricultural produce in 1841—a year of large production—was only $16,000,000. The mechanics and manufacturers of the State of Massachusetts alone, annually purchase of the other States, agricultural products, exclusive of cotton, to the amount of more than THIRTY-THREE MILLIONS of dollars—more than twice as much as all foreign nations united. Let, then, the farmers of our country, when they are urged to aid in overthrowing the protective policy which has already given them a home market for more than THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS of dollars worth of their produce annually, ask the political Jesuits who advise them to a course so suicidal—"Where, when this vast home market is destroyed, can we look for another of equal extent, convenience and certainty?"

The benefits which a protective tariff confers upon the country are so numerous and diversified, that I know not where to stop. I shall advert to but one more, and that is the STABILITY which it gives to the currency. A low revenue tariff which encourages large importations of foreign goods, must necessarily, with our exports limited principally to the articles of cotton, rice, and tobacco, create a balance of trade AGAINST US, and consequently DRAIN the country of its SPECIE. This abstraction of an undue proportion of the specie upon which rests the whole bank paper circulation of the country, contracts that basis, and with it the aggregate amount of the currency. The reduction of the currency causes a corresponding reduction of prices—of real and personal property, rents, the wages of labor, &c. A protective tariff, while it does not diminish our exports, consisting as they chiefly do of articles which other nations from *necessity* must take of us, moderates the imports, and thereby keeps the balance of foreign trade in our favor. We have seen from the highest official documents, that under the low rates of the last years of the compromise act, very large amounts of specie WENT OUT of the country, and that under the present protective tariff it FLOWS INTO the country, and is KEPT IN the country. This retention of specie in the country, preserves a broad and solid basis for a sound bank

paper currency, the amount of which is usually in proportion to the amount of the precious metals upon which it rests. By this operation, familiar to persons acquainted with financial concerns, the prices of real and personal property—the wages of labor, &c., are kept up, and the business of the people and the prosperity of the country are sustained.

In the beautiful language of Henry Clay—"The POLICY OF PROTECTION stands self-vindicated. It has scattered its rich fruits all over the land, and is sustained by the experience of all powerful and prosperous nations."

THE CURRENCY.

Next, in point of importance, to the protection of the great and paramount interests of American labor, is the necessity of a sound, safe, and convenient CURRENCY. The currency being the common medium of exchange, and, to a very great extent, the measure of value, is necessarily and most intimately connected with the business and general prosperity of the country. It is to the body politic what the vital fluid is to the human system. As in the one, so in the other, if the quantity is either too much increased or too much diminished, the healthy operation of the whole system is disturbed. The greatest care and the greatest wisdom are required in adjusting the QUANTITY of currency demanded by the sound and salutary business wants of the nation. Too great an EXPANSION gives an unreal value to things, and encourages a spirit of wild speculation, and too great a CONTRACTION of the currency unnecessarily depresses prices—disturbs the relations of debtor and creditor, and oppresses the sound business of the people. Under a system of Bank paper currency, which is liable to both of these difficulties, there would seem to exist a strong necessity that there should be somewhere a SUPERVISING and CONTROLLING POWER.

The bank paper currency of the several States now constitute, and probably always will constitute, much the largest part of the currency of the people for ordinary, local, business purposes. This currency is under the supervision of the State Legislatures which created it, and who are bound to see that it is kept sound and at all times convertible, at the place of issue, into GOLD and SILVER. As I have already shown, from the highest official documents, a protective Tariff will do a great deal to insure stability to the whole aggregate Bank paper currency of the States, by giving to it a broad and solid basis of gold and silver to rest upon. Still, in a country so extensive as our own, divided into twenty-six separate and independent States, and each of these having numerous local Banks, intent only upon private emolument—furnishing and pretending to furnish at best only safe LOCAL currencies, it appears to me absolutely indispensable to the salutary and harmonious operations of our compound system of government—State and National—that there should be also a general National paper currency, convertible everywhere into gold and silver at the will of the holder. The Whig party, therefore, maintain that since NO INDIVIDUAL can make for himself such a currency, and NO STATE can do it for the Nation, it is the imperative duty of the General Government to take care that the people of the whole country be provided with a sound, convenient, redeemable National paper currency to be "regulated by the WILL and AUTHORITY of the Nation!" The mode and means of accomplishing an object so desirable, they are willing to refer to the wisdom of a patriotic and freshly elected WHIG Congress, aided, as such a Congress will be, by an able, sagacious, high-minded WHIG President.

Position of the Locofoco Party when last defined.

The PRESENT POSITION of Mr. Polk and the party which supports him upon the question of the currency is not distinctly defined. The party which supports Mr. Polk, it is well known, attempted to obtain the control of the last National Bank at the commencement of General Jackson's administration, and, failing in that object, they waged a war of extermination against it. Mr. Polk has himself been FOR and AGAINST the State Bank DEPOSITE SYSTEM—AGAINST and FOR the Sub-Treasury. It is well known that he concurred in the recommendation which was given to the Government deposite Banks to expand their loans, which encouraged the frantic spirit of speculation that pervaded the country in 1834, '35 and '36, and which, together with the drain of specie which the country suffered in consequence of the large foreign balance against us in 1835, '36 and '37, amounting to more than one hundred and thirteen millions of dollars, under the low duties of the Compromise act which Mr. Polk wishes to restore, led to the great convulsion of 1837. The position of the Polk party upon the subject of the currency, when LAST TAKEN, in the summer of 1840, was that of decided hostility to all banks—the National, which they had failed to obtain the control of, and the State banks, which well nigh perished in their fatal embrace. That party were, at that time, as all of us well remember, engaged in a Quixotic attempt to destroy the credit and paper currencies of the States, and reduce the vast amount of enterprise, trade and business of this great people, down to the contracted measure of the actual quantity of the precious metals in the country, which their free trade principles were constantly diminishing. The changes which were then rung, by their whole party press, of "RAG BANKS"—"RAG PAPER MILLS"—"RAG BARONS"—are fresh in the recollection of all. Their efforts to compress the whole immense business operations of this country within the confined limits of a purely metalic, specie currency, were, as might have been anticipated, about as successful as it would have been to have attempted to turn back the impetuous current of Niagara, or to stay, in its quiet but mighty course, the onward flow of the majestic Mississippi. Could that party, by means of its war against the State Banks—its specie circulars and its subtreasury law, have succeeded in accomplishing a measure so destructive, the aggregate currency of the country would have been reduced about 75 per cent. A reduction so great would have paralyzed enterprise, crushed all business, and swept away every vestige of national prosperity, by the corresponding reduction of the prices of all kinds of property, real and personal, the wages of labor, &c., to nearly the same extent that the currency had been diminished. It would have bankrupted at once every business man and farmer, the value of whose property did not exceed four times the amount of his debts. Its effect upon the condition and wages of labor can be readily ascertained from the following well authenticated accounts of the condition and wages of labor in other hard money, sub-treasury countries:

"China," says Adam Smith, "has been long one of the richest, that is, one of the most fertile, best cultivated, most industrious, and most populous countries in the world. It seems, however, to have been stationary. The accounts of all travellers, inconsistent in many other respects, agree in the low wages of labor, and in the difficulty which a laborer finds in bringing up a family in China. If by digging the ground a whole day he can get what will purchase a small quantity of rice in the evening, he is contented. The condition of artificers is, if possible, still worse. Instead of waiting indolently in their work-houses for the calls of their customers, as in Eu-

rope, they are continually running about the streets with the tools of their respective trades, offering their services and begging employment. The poverty of the lower classes in China far surpasses that of the most beggarly nations in Europe. The subsistence which they find there is so scanty that they are eager to fish up the nastiest garbage thrown overboard from any European ship. Any carion, the carcase of a dead dog or cat, for example, though half putrid and stinking, is as welcome to them as the most wholesome food to the people of other countries.

"*Wages in France.*—Calais, common laborers 7½ pence per day, with board and without dwelling. Boulogne, 5 pence per day, with board and without dwelling. Nantz, 8 pence per day, without board and without dwelling. Marseilles, 4 to 7 pence per day, with board without dwelling. The food, in some districts, consists of rye bread, soup made of millet, cakes made of Indian corn, now and then some salt provisions and vegetables, rarely, if ever, butcher's meat. In others, wheaten bread, soup made with vegetables, and a little grease or lard twice a day, potatoes or other vegetables, but seldom butcher's meat.

"*Sweden.*—The daily wages of a skilful agriculturist, are 7 or 9 pence; while the unskilled obtain no more than 3 or 4 pence, and board themselves. Agriculturists in the Southern provinces live upon salt fish and potatoes; in the Northern provinces, porridge and rye bread form their food.

"*Bavaria.*—Laborers are paid at the rate of 8 pence per day in the country, without board.

"*Belgium.*—A skilled artisan may earn in summer, 1 shilling 2 pence to 1 shilling 5 pence; in winter, from 10 to 14 pence; unskilled, half as much, without board,—live upon rye bread, potatoes, and milk. Agricultural laborers have less.

"*Germany.*—Dantzic laborers, 4 3-4 to 7 pence per day, without board; Mecklenburg, 7 pence per day, without board; Holstein, 7 pence per day without board.

"*Netherlands.*—South Holland, laborers, 3 to 4 pence per day, with board. North Holland, 20 pence per day, without board. Antwerp, 5 pence per day. West Flanders, 96 to 104 shillings per year, without board.

"*Italy.*—Trieste, laborers, 12 pence per day, without board, 6 pence with board. Istria, 8 to 10 pence per day without board. Lombardy, 4 to 8 pence per day. Tuscany, 6 pence per day.

"*Saxony.*—In 1837, a man employed in his own loom, working very diligently from Monday morning to Saturday night, from five o'clock in the morning till dusk, and even at times with a lamp, his wife assisting him in finishing and taking in the work, could not possibly earn more than 60 cts. a week. Nor could one who had three children, aged twelve years and upwards, all working at the loom as well as himself, with his wife employed doing up the work, earn, in the whole, more than $1 *weekly*."

Let the laboring men of America look into the above mirror, and they can see reflected what will be their CONDITION—the RATE of their WAGES under the HARD MONEY, SUB-TREASURY SYSTEM, which the Polk party, if successful in the approaching election, will attempt to fasten upon them.—When the sub-treasury was first enacted, the leaders of the Polk party, Messrs. Walker, Calhoun, Buchanan, Hubbard, Pierce, Tappan, and others, struck for LOWER wages for the LABORER. SENATOR WALKER said, "I ardently desire to see this country in the same happy condition with Cuba." "I coincide with the Senator from Mississippi," said MR. CALHOUN. "We must reduce the prices of property and labor low," said MR. BUCHANAN—GOVERNOR HUBBARD *exultingly* proclaimed, that "The sub-treasury is in *successful* operation in 23 out of the 27 *despotic* governments in Europe,"

and we have seen what the condition and wages of labor are where "the sub-treasury is in successful operation." I ask the attention of all laboring men to the following argument, used by Mr. Tappan, one of the U. S. Senators from the State of Ohio—a *prominent* and *leading supporter* of *James K. Polk* in that State—to convince Mr. Wallace, a large *employer* of laborers in his neighborhood, of the special advantages of the sub-treasury system to *employers*—showing him *how low* "the laborer in this country can afford to *work*," how "the *sub-treasury* would *bring down wages*," and operate as the "best tariff" that *employers* could have:

Senator Tappan's argument in favor of the Sub-Treasury.

"I, JAMES WALLACE, depose and say, that previous to the last October election, I had a conversation with BENJAMIN TAPPAN, one of the Senators in the Congress of the United States from the State of Ohio, during which conversation Mr. Tappan remarked: "YOU MANUFACTURERS, Mr. Wallace, stand very much in your own light, that YOU DO NOT GO WITH US FOR THE HARD MONEY SYSTEM, and you would go with us, if you did not look through other people's spectacles." This deponent inquired how the *manufacturers* were to be *benefitted* by the adoption of *that system?* MR. TAPPAN replied: "WAGES are entirely too high in this country—there is no reason *why labor* should not be as *cheap in this country as in Europe. It is the Banks* (continued Mr. Tappan) that *keep up the price of labor and the price of produce;* if you can *put down the Banks, labor* will be *reduced* to ELEVEN PENCE *a day, wheat to* SIXTEEN CENTS A BUSHEL, and every thing else in proportion. The SUB-TREASURY will *produce this effect—it will put down the Banks* and *reduce the price of labor and the products of the country.* It will be the BEST TARIFF the MANUFACTURERS CAN HAVE—instead of being compelled to *ask* your government *for protection, it will* ENABLE the MANUFACTURER to COMPETE with the ENGLISH manufacturer in his own market." JAMES WALLACE.

STATE OF OHIO, Jefferson County, ss.

Personally appeared before the undersigned, Notary Public, within and for the County of Jefferson, *James Wallace*, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says, that the foregoing statement, by him subscribed, is *true* in substance and in fact.

Witness my hand and official seal, at Steubenville, this 20th day of July, A. D. 1840.

J. COLLIER, *Notary Public, Jeff. Co., Ohio.*

There never was a more *legitimate* argument urged in support of the SUB-TREASURY SYSTEM, than this used by Senator Tappan. It is a most logical analysis of *its effects* upon the State Bank currencies, the value of property, the price of produce, and the wages of labor. The RESULTS of the hard money, SUB-TREASURY system were stated by Senator Tappan with great precision and distinctness, and he doubtless gave to his neighbor Wallace a true statement of what *its friends* EXPECTED from its establishment and "*successful* operation" in this country.

But how dead to every just and generous sentiment—to all honorable and manly feeling, must be the hearts of such despicable demagogues, who, while they are cajoling the laborer with professions of extraordinary friendship, and persuading him that he is oppressed by those from whom he is receiving liberal wages for his labor, are, at the same time, whispering in the ears of *employers*, that the HARD MONEY, SUB-TREASURY system is the "BEST TARIFF" for them, because it will REDUCE the price of American labor to "ELEVEN PENCE A DAY!" No one, I am sure, will deny that they are true and worthy *disciples* of the *first* sub-treasurer of whom we have any account—who *saluted* with a *kiss* when he resolved to *betray*. Now turn from this picture of low, locofoco demagoguism, to the lofty and high-souled sentiments of the true patriot and enlightened statesman, who has done more for the real interests of American LABOR than any other man, living or dead. Mr. Clay, in his speech on the Sub-Treasury bill in the United States Senate, January 20, 1840, said:

"Mr. President, of all the subjects of national policy, not one ought to be touched with so much delicacy as that of the *wages*, in other words, the *bread of the poor man*. In dwelling, as I have often done, with inexpressible satisfaction upon the many advantages of our country, there is not one that has given me more delight than the HIGH PRICE OF MANUAL LABOR. There is not one which indicates more clearly the prosperity of the MASS of the community. In all the features of human society, there are none, I think, which more decisively display the GENERAL WELFARE, than a *permanent* high rate of wages, and a *permanent* high rate of interest."

On another occasion, Mr. Clay said:

"For one, I am delighted to see the CONDITION OF THE POOR attracting the consideration of the opponents of the tariff. It is for *the great body of the people, and especially for the poor, that I have ever supported the American system.* It affords them profitable employment, and supplies the means of comfortable subsistence. It *secures* to them, certainly, necessaries of life, manufactured *at home*, and places within their reach, and enables them to acquire a reasonable share of foreign luxuries; while the system of gentlemen opposed to protection, *promises* them necessaries made in foreign countries, and which are beyond their power, and *denies* to them luxuries, which they would possess no MEANS TO PURCHASE."

Honest and intelligent workingmen can, I am sure, have no difficulty in determining who are their best and truest friends.

It is beyond the ingenuity of man to devise two measures which would work together more completely to destroy the currency, the business and prosperity of the country, than a low revenue tariff and the sub-treasury system united. While the first, by creating large foreign balances against us, would drain the country of most of its specie, the last would lock up from general use the principal portion of the remainder which a large amount of collected revenue, consequent upon low duties, would throw into its vaults. I need not even suggest to intelligent men the train of evils which would inevitably result from the co-operation of two such measures, both conspiring with the greatest harmony and working together with the most destructive energy, to produce the largest possible amount of INJURY to the currency, to the business and prosperity of the country.

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

The disposition of the unsold Western lands, is a concern of the deepest interest to the people of the several States of this Union. These lands, which are now at the low value of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, worth THIRTEEN HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, never were the absolute property of the general government. They originally belonged to the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia. But in consideration of the common blood and treasure expended by all the States, in the achievement of our National Independence, these seven States, which before and after the American Revolution, owned these lands, at the close of the war, to secure the general harmony, with a liberality and national spirit worthy of all praise, ceded them to the general government, for the specific object of paying the war debts of ALL the States; or, as it was stated in the act of cession, by the State of Virginia—"as a COMMON FUND for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said States, Virginia inclusive, according to their respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and FOR NO OTHER USE OR PURPOSE WHATSOEVER."

These lands, by these deeds of cession, became pledged to pay the debts contracted by the several States in carrying on the war of the Revolution, and its disposition "for ANY OTHER USE OR PURPOSE WHATSOEVER," was expressly PROHIBITED. They were a TRUST FUND, placed at the disposal of the general government, which assumed these State debts for that specific object. That this was the nature and extent of the interest of the general government in these lands, has been solemnly adjudged by the highest judicial tribunal in our country. In the case of Jackson vs. Clark, Chief Justice Marshall, in commenting upon the terms of the deed of cession to which I have referred, said:

"The Government of the United States, then, *received this territory* IN TRUST, not only for the Virginia troops on the Continental establishment, but also for the use and benefit of the members of the confederation; and this *trust* is to be executed by a faithful and *bona fide* disposition of the land for that purpose."

It was also declared in the Act of Assumption of the debts of the several States by the general government, passed in pursuance of the pledge of these lands: "that the PROCEEDS OF THE SALES which shall be made of lands in the Western Territory, now belonging, or that may hereafter belong to the United States, shall be, and are hereby, appropriated towards sinking or discharging the debts, for the payment whereof the United States now are, or by virtue of this act may be, holden, and shall be *applied solely to that use*, until the said debts shall be fully satisfied."

In this way, the general government LOANED ITS CREDIT to the States, to pay off their war debts, and received these lands IN PLEDGE for that sole use. These lands afterwards became charged, by the general acquiesence of the people of the several States, with the National debt contracted during the last war with Great Britain. These were the only charges (except the incidental costs of extinguishment of Indian titles, surveys and sale,) to which these lands were ever subjected.

In the year 1836, the whole National debt, contracted in both wars, became wholly extinguished, and these lands became thereby entirely REDEEMED FROM EVERY PLEDGE to which they had ever been subjected. The TRUST RIGHTS, which the general government acquired by the original acts of conditional cession, became fully and absolutely DISCHARGED, and the property and OWNERSHIP of these lands REVERTED, by virtue of this DISCHARGE, and the IMPLIED CONDITION of the original grant, to the SEVERAL STATES. The several States, therefore, now have as clear a right to these lands, or to the net proceeds of the annual sales of them, in proportion to their federal representation, as any farmer in the Union has to the use of his own real estate in fee, now freed of the incumbrances to which it may have been formerly subjected.

The question, NOT OF RIGHT, but of EXPEDIENCY, arises—ought the people of the several States now to insist upon an annual distribution of the net proceeds of the sales of these lands among the States, according to the ratio of their federal representation, or should the proceeds of the land sales go into the general treasury, to meet the common expenses of the federal government? Upon this question the two political parties are at issue. Both parties agree that the TRUST RIGHTS, which the general government acquired by the acts of conditional cession by the States, have been ENTIRELY DISCHARGED, and that the PLEDGE to which these lands were subjected, IS NOW WHOLLY REDEEMED. But they disagree in relation to the *future* disposition which shall be made of them, or of the amounts derived from the annual sales of these lands. Mr. Polk and the party which supports him, contend that the proceeds of the sales of the lands should go into the gen-

eral treasury, and mingle, without discrimination as to use, with the other receipts of revenue. The consequence of such a course, it will be at once perceived, must be to lessen the amount of revenue necessary to be collected by a tariff of duties on foreign imports, and as Mr. Polk and his party are opposed to all protection to American labor, it is not perhaps strange that *they* should, to preserve the appearance of political consistency, oppose the distribution of the proceeds of the annual sales of the lands. To remove any doubt that may exist in relation to Mr. Polk's views upon the subject of the public lands, I here insert his public declarations upon this question. In a public letter, dated May 15, 1843, Mr. Polk says:

"I AM OPPOSED to the policy of withdrawing the proceeds of the public lands from the support of the Federal Government, and distributing them to the States.

"For my views on this subject, I refer you to my published address to the people of Tennessee, bearing date the 25th of March, 1841. In that address I said: "The distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the States, and the consequent increase of the tariff to supply an amount of revenue equal to that which may be abstracted from the common treasury, will undoubtedly be among the measures of the new administration.

"The proposed distribution is, in truth, but a branch of Mr. Clay's famed 'American System.'" * * * "Mr. Clay is the author of the measure, as he was of the American system."

* * * * * "In every view of the measure, it is an auxiliary to the protective policy." * * * * "The manufacturing States so understand it, and hence the legislatures of Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and some other States, have, during the past and present year, passed legislative resolves instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives in Congress to advocate the measure.

"None can be so blind as not to see that the measure to distribute the proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the States, is but the PIONEER STEP to the REVIVAL of a PROTECTIVE TARIFF."

Mr. Clay and the Whig party maintain that the net proceeds of the land sales should be annually distributed among all the States of the Union, according to the ratio of their federal representation. They believe such a distribution to be *right* and *just*, because these lands are now clearly the *property of the States*. They believe it to be *expedient* and *proper*, because the general government does NOT NEED these receipts, and the States do; and also because, if they are not distributed it will be utterly impossible to maintain a steady and PERMANENT TARIFF, the amount of the receipts from the land sales being so uncertain and fluctuating—having vacillated within the last ten years, from *less* than *two* to nearly *twenty-five* millions of dollars per annum. A single glance at the following table of the amounts annually received from customs and the lands since the year 1834, will satisfy any unprejudiced mind that such a tariff as will satisfy the people of the whole country—producing just sufficient revenue to meet the expenses of an economical administration of the government, cannot be maintained with any tolerable degree of stability and permanence, if the widely varying amounts of the receipts from the land sales are permitted to go into the general treasury to jostle and disturb it.

	Customs.	*Lands.*
1834	$16,214,957 15	$4,857,600 69
1835	19,391,310 59	14,757,600 75
1836	23,409,940 53	24,817,179 86

	Customs.	*Lands.*
1837	11,165,970 22	6,863,556 46
1838	16,155,455 33	3,214,183 93
1839	23,136,397 10	7,267,447 94
1840	13,196,834 37	3,494,356 41
1841	14,481,997 88	1,470,295 12
1842	13,368,054 65	1'434,878 58
1843	16,297,116 00	1,963,028 82
1844	20,000,000 00 (est)	2,250,000 00

There can be nothing more true than that a tariff, to be of any benefit to the industry of the country, must be not only reasonably protective in its character, but it must be a PERMANENT MEASURE. Nothing is so ruinous to all regular business, as constant change and vacillation in the measures of public policy which deeply affect it. We have a tariff now in successful operation, which, while it produces a sufficient amount of revenue for the support of the government, economically administered, *without* the land sales, affords a reasonable protection to all branches of American labor. Is it wise to disturb this tariff by throwing the fluctuating amounts of the annual receipts from the land sales into the general treasury? It appears by the above table, made from official documents of the highest authority, that in the year 1836, the proceeds of the sales of the lands amounted to nearly *twenty-five millions* of dollars—an amount *more than a million greater than the receipts from the customs during that year!* During the last three years the land sales have amounted to only one eighth or one tenth of the amounts derived from the customs. The comparative receipts from these two sources, will hereafter depend much upon the condition and circumstances of the country—the amount of immigration, and the ability of the people to purchase the public lands. But the inevitable consequence of not distributing the money annually received from the land sales, would be CONSTANT CHANGE and RUINOUS INSTABILITY in the TARIFF ROLICY—a result most to be deprecated by all business men, because the most fatal to all regular enterprize, as well as most destructive of the general prosperity. A policy so unjust, and altogether injurious, would be entirely GRATUITOUS and UNCALLED FOR on the part of the GENERAL GOVERNMENT. The general government is now receiving a very AMPLE REVENUE from the customs alone, to meet its necessary annual expenditures, WITHOUT THE PROCEEDS OF THE LAND SALES. The efforts making by the advocates of free trade and of a mere revenue tariff, to retain the land money in the general treasury, clearly indicate their intention to rely upon this *disturbing cause*, to unsettle and overthrow the protective tariff policy. The friends of protection should, therefore, look well to the influence of this question upon the great interests of business and labor.

While the general government does NOT NEED these land receipts, the States, most of which are loaded down with large debts, and are severely oppressed by heavy direct taxes, DO GREATLY NEED THEM to relieve their tax-payers from the embarrassments and enormous assessments, which weigh them down. And those States, like Rhode Island, which are free of debt, would find the receipts of their respective proportions of the proceeds of the land sales, very convenient for many highly beneficial purposes—especially to extend and improve their common school systems, thereby essentially contributing, by the diffusion of sound moral and intellectual instruction among the youth of the country, to the permanency of our free institutions and the elevation of the national character.

It appears by a report made by the Secretary of the Treasury, in 1842,

that the several States owe an aggregate debt—amounting to about TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS of dollars. The amount of debt owed by each of the indebted States, is as follows:

Maine,	$1,734,862	Florida,	$4,000,000
Massachusetts,	5,424,137	Tennessee,	3,189,166
Pennsylvania,	36,336,044	Kentucky,	3,085,500
New York,	21,797,267	Michigan,	5,611,000
Maryland,	15,215,771	Ohio,	10,924,123
Virginia,	6994,307	Indiana,	12,751,000
South Carolina,	5,691,234	Illinois,	13,527,292
Georgia,	1,309,750	Missouri	842,261
Alabama,	15,400,060	District of Columbia,	1,316,030
Louisiana,	23,985,000	Mississippi,	7000,000
Arkansas,	2,676,000	North Carolina,	1,050,000

The same report of the head of the Treasury, shows the amount of interest which each of the twenty-six States have in this immense land fund, amounting in the whole to THIRTEEN HUNDRED MILLIONS of dollars—and also the amount of money which each of the States would *annually receive* from the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, when they amount to eight millions of dollars per year, as follows:

States.	*Shares of whole.*	*Annual Receipts.*
Maine,	$42,045,635	$257,706
New Hampshire,	28,030,423	172,040
Massachusetts,	56,060,847	344,086
Rhode Island,	18,686,949	118,279
Connecticut,	28,030,423	172,040
Vermont,	28,030,423	172,040
New York,	168,182,542	1,032,258
New Jersey,	32,702,161	200,716
Pennsylvania,	121,465,169	741,936
Delaware,	14,015,211	86,021
Maryland,	37,373,898	229,356
Virginia,	79,419,534	487,455
North Carolina,	57,389,110	315,412
South Carolina,	42,045,635	257,706
Georgia,	46,717,372	286,738
Kentucky,	56,060,847	344,086
Tennessee,	60,732,584	372,759
Ohio,	107,449,957	659,498
Louisiana,	28,030,423	172,040
Indiana,	56,060,847	344,086
Mississippi,	28,030,423	172,040
Illinois,	42,045,635	257,706
Alabama,	42,045,635	257,706
Missouri,	32,702,161	200,716
Arkansas,	14,015,211	86,021
Michigan,	23,358,686	143,369

The interest of the State of Rhode Island in this splendid domain is more than EIGHTEEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS!!! It would in a few years of Whig prosperity, under the system of measures advocated by Mr. Clay, *yield an annual revenue to this State of more than one hundred thousand dollars.* Mr. Clay has carried through Congress two acts for the equitable distribution of the annual proceeds of the land sales and been twice defeated, by Executive vetoes, in perfecting a measure so incalcula-

bly beneficial to all the people of all the States of this Union. After the next census it may be too late to save this immense fund, acquired by the blood and treasure of the old thirteen States, from the monopolizing and rapacious grasp of the States in which these lands are located. Leading Western politicians have again and again declared that after the year 1850, they will save Congress the trouble of distribution. There can be no doubt that they will then make an effort to appropriate them. Now or NEVER, can an equitable distribution of the proceeds of the sale of these lands be made, and when it is once made, and is annually pouring golden streams into all the State Treasuries, it will be impossible to divest the OLD States of their interest in them. It is the imperative duty of the people of the OLD States now to strike for their rights and secure forever their interest in this grand public domain. It would be *treason against this State*, it seems to me, for any man among us to sacrifice her immense interest in this great land fund, —this rich legacy of our Revolutionary fathers—worth Eighteen Millions of Dollars—by voting for an acknowledged enemy to distribution for the Presidency. Mr. Polk declares himself decidedly opposed to the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the several States. If he is elected, there will be no distribution. He will be armed with the VETO power, can and will prevent it! I call, then, upon the Rhode Island Locofocos, who have repeatedly, by the action of their political friends in the General Assembly of this State, *unanimously instructed* our members of Congress to *advocate* the distribution of the land money among all the Stotes, to come up like men—true Rhode Island men, and aid in the election of a President known to be the friend of this measure. If it was right in itself and beneficial to the State when their political friends and representatives in our Legislature voted for it, it is so now. Let them, then, vindicate their consistency by sustaining the measure and the FRIEND of the measure, which they have declared by their past course to be for the interest and benefit of this State and of the country. Mr. Clay originated this great measure, and, if elected, will carry it triumphantly through. The election of Mr. Clay will, therefore, secure Rhode-Island's splendid interest in this great fund to us and our children forever.

I earnestly appeal, therefore, not only to the people of this State, but to the people of all the States, to consider what immediate and immense relief the distribution of the proceeds of the annual land sales will give to the indebted States, which are now borne down by oppressive direct taxation, to raise annual revenue sufficient to pay the interest on their State debts in addition to their ordinary current expenditures. ALL the States are indirectly interested in their preserving good faith, performing their obligations and paying their debts; distribution would enable the indebted States to do this, and save them and the national character from the odium and infamy of possible REPUDIATION. The States which are fortunate enough to be free of debt, as I am rejoiced to say is the happy situation of this State, would reap still greater benefits from such a wise and patriotic course of public policy. It would enable them to accomplish objects of the highest interest to the people of such States, and of most enduring benefit to our free institutions. COMMON FREE SCHOOLS might then be established, without State or town taxation, where none now exist, and those which are now open only a few months, might be extended throughout the year and greatly improved in character. It would thus open new fountains of useful knowledge which might otherwise remain forever sealed to those to whose care, for good or for evil, must in a few years be committed the destinies of this Republic. The great interests of public morals, of general education, of enlightened public opinion and of good government plead

for the success of this great measure of Whig policy, and surely no good citizen would oppose such influences, or needlessly array himself against the accomplishment of objects of such lasting and universal beneficence.

ONE PRESIDENTIAL TERM.

The great reform which our political system needs more than all others, is the limitation of the Presidential office to a SINGLE TERM. This can be done either by an amendment of the Constitution, making the President ineligible after a single term, or by electing such men to the Presidency as will pledge themselves to serve ONLY ONE TERM and by the force of a continued succession of single terms create such a settled usage as will be nearly as imperative as an express constitutional provision.

The want of such a provision in the constitution of the United States, is unquestionably one of the greatest defects of that instrument. It was framed, however, by honest and patriotic men, who had their eyes fixed, in adjusting the executive department, upon a long succession in the Presidential office of such men as WASHINGTON, and who never for a moment dreamed of the practices, abuses and corruptions which have disgraced and well nigh changed the character of our representative Republic. This unfortunate omission should be supplied by a constitutional amendment, or by the equally efficacious mode of establishing a settled usage upon the subject by the people themselves in the election of their future Presidents. Such a limitation, however established, will be sure to strengthen the good resolutions of a patriotic President, and take away all temptations to intrigue, corruption and sinister management which might otherwise control an ambitious, corrupt, or weak one.

The vice of the two term system is, that as soon as a President gets well seated in his office, he begins to shape his policy, the measures and course of his administration, with a view to secure his re-election. If such measures as the interests of the country need will not answer his purpose, such a policy as will obtain for the incumbent the most votes at the end of his first term will be resorted to. Wily schemes and temporary expedients are substituted for sound comprehensive legislation. Sectional prejudices are encouraged. The different classes and interests are attempted to be arrayed against each other. The government patronage at his disposal will also be converted into an engine of tremendous power to effect the same object. The public good, the interests of the people, and the safety of our free institutions are entirely lost sight of and disregarded in the all-absorbing effort to procure a re-election. Every thing is made to bend to this single, sordid, selfish object. It was a just remark of Mr. Jefferson, that mankind had never yet found angels in human form to govern them. Great men share the common infirmities of humanity, and need, as all men do, to constantly pray *not to be led into temptation, but to be delivered from evil.* And a wise government and people will take care that their public agents, even the highest, shall be kept as free from temptations to evil as possible. Now the prolific source of the great evils with which executive misrule has afflicted our country would be cut off, and the cause of nearly all the abuses, corruptions and debasements of executive power which have disgraced and endangered the stability of our free institutions, be removed, by limiting the Presidential office to a *single term.* This, fellow-citizens, would rescue your President from all inducements to play the demagogue—secure him against all temptations to pursue an intriguing, dishonest, time serving policy. It could not fail to operate as a sovereign remedy for the correction of the alarming abuse and perverted exercise of the VETO POWER, and would ef-

fectually restrain all improper, interested, and mere partizan use of executive patronage.

Limit the Presidential service to a single term, and the people may be certain of purer and more patriotic administrations of their government in future. They will, by this means, turn back the swelling tide of public corruption, and base, bad influences, which has made such fearful progress through all the channels of power, induce a higher and healthier tone of political morality in public office, and restore the government to its former purity and dignity. Let the people establish, by their suffrages, the ONE TERM SYSTEM, and they will make it the interest—the highest motive of the incumbent of that office, from the very commencement of his Presidential career, to administer his high trust in such a manner as will secure to himself an honest, pure and permanent fame. He will have reached the last and highest step in the flight of his ambition—the consummation of his political aspirations, and instead of the present wretched system of Presidential electioneering for a re-election—of executive intrigue and corrupt plotting to secure a second term, he will have no possible inducement to do otherwise than devote his whole constitutional power, his official influence and personal energies, to promote the public good, as a means of obtaining the approbation—not of a PART or a PARTY, but of the WHOLE American People. His true interest, his permanent reputation, and his highest ambition will necessarily conspire to strongly impel him to labor for the dignity, the greatness, and the glory of the Republic.

Mr. Clay stands publicly pledged to the one term system, and of whatever else his political opponents may have, for sinister purposes, charged him, no man living has ever breathed even a suspicion of his fidelity to *truth* and *honor*. He will, if elected, stand firmly to his promise to abide by the one term principle; and those who are favorable to the establishment of this salutary reform so vital to the dignity of our government, to the purity of its administration, and to the permanence of free institutions in this Republic, will be sure to accomplish their object, so far as this election can accomplish it, by supporting him for the Presidency.

HENRY CLAY AND JAMES K. POLK.

The name—the character and public career of Henry Clay, are familiar to the whole American people. For more than thirty-five years he has been a distinguished leader in the public councils—always the GREATEST among the GREAT; and so prominent has been his position, and so commanding his influence that the history of the country—of its public policy in peace and in war—of its trials and its triumphs, during that long period, has been HIS history. His transcendent genius—his calm and lofty moral courage—the noble generosity of his nature—his incoruptible integrity of purpose, and firm fidelity to his principles—his ardent patriotism, and impulsive, enthusiastic love of liberty—his large, comprehensive, conservative views and truly national spirit—his matchless eloquence, ever devoted to the advancement of the greatness and glory of his country and the freedom of his race—his great experience in public affairs and splendid public services have all combined to give him an elevation—an influence and a fame which no other living American possesses. In his great and glorious national reputation, every honest man in this republic, whether he call himself Whig or Democrat, should feel that he has a common and indefeasible interest—an invaluable property.

That his political opponents do, in their hearts, share with his friends an involuntary admiration of his tried talents and eminent public services there

is plenary proof. On more than one occasion of imminent peril to the safety of our institutions, have THEY gladly committed themselves to the wisdom and patriotism of his councils. In every free State of this Union THEY are, at this moment, paying the highest homage to his successful statesmanship—such, indeed, as vice always pays to virtue—by the FALSE PRETENCES under which they are now endeavoring to smuggle their candidate into power, and their loud PROFESSIONS of FRIENDSHIP for that great system of public policy which it has been the labor of his life to establish. In 1840, when it was first known that the nomination of the Harrisburg convention had been given to General Harrison, the Democratic press, from the Aroostook to the Sabine, streamed with one general blaze of PATRIOTIC indignation at the subtitution of such a man as they represented General Harrison to be, for a statesman of such "SPLENDID TALENTS"—such "LONG EXPERIENCE," and "EMINENT PUBLIC SERVICES" as they *then*, when they had no interest to malign him, alledged Mr. Clay could *justly* lay claim to. Loud and almost deafening peals of panegyric then burst from the leaders of the democratic party, upon the lofty chivalry of his character—the purity of his patriotism, and the unsullied brilliancy of his public career! Who, after all this, can, for a moment, doubt that it is because Henry Clay *now* stands, like a flaming sword, *in their path to power*, and *not* from any want of just appreciation or high admiration of his real character and public services that the more unscrupulous of his political opponents now pursue this patriotic statesman with such ferocity and vindictiveness?

The life of Mr. Clay presents a most beautiful illustration of the admirable operation of our republican institutions. Upon arriving at the age of manhood, he found himself fatherless and pennyless, by the side of a widowed mother, in the wilderness of Kentucky. He started in life with no other patrimony than a pious mother's prayers! He received nothing from Fortune—from God alone the gift of a genius of unsurpassed brilliancy and power—a towering intellect, which has ever been devoted to the *greatest good* of the *whole* American people, and which has placed him in the front rank of the greatest statesmen of the age.

On all the great national questions which have agitated this country for the last thirty years, Mr. Clay has been the MASTER spirit. He entered the Congress of the Union at that interesting period of American history, when England, by her orders in council and paper blockades, was seriously annoying our foreign commerce, which was followed by the search of our merchant vessels, and the unjust impressment of American seamen. Mr. Clay was then found where such a man—ever jealous of his country's liberties and honor, might be expected to be found—battling for the FREEDOM OF THE SEAS—for SAILOR'S RIGHTS—for the independence of the AMERICAN FLAG. He contended that the glorious STARS and STRIPES at the mast head should be our sufficient PASSPORT to navigate every ocean. The proud "mistress of the seas" would acknowledge no such protection, but persisted in dragging our brave seamen from American merchant vessels and forcing them into the British service. Mr. Clay, then the great leader of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives, called upon his countrymen to vindicate their invaded rights—the national honor, and during the whole war which ensued, the trumpet notes of his clear, clarion voice breathed a soul of fire into the public councils, aroused the slumbering patriotism of the country— rolled over the ocean and rang along our bleeding frontier, cheering on our brave sailors and soldiers to deeds of noble daring, and mingling ever with their joyous shouts of victory. The favorite of Madison—the idol of the old Republican party, no man, at that perilous period, acted a more important part—advocated with more distinguish-

ed ability the SECOND war of Independence, and all the means necessary to its successful termination than Mr. Clay. And when American arms had triumphantly vindicated our national rights on land and sea, Mr. Clay was delegated as one of the high Commissioners on the part of the United States to adjust the terms of an honorable peace.

When the young Republics of South America, tearing themselves from the iron dominion of Spain, were struggling for the acquisition of National Independence; and again, when the genius of Grecian liberty, waking from the sleep of centuries, rose up against her ruffian and tyrannical Turkish masters, and invoked the christian world, " by a generous recollection of their ancestors—by the consideration of their own desolated and ruined cities and villages—by their wives and children sold into an accursed slavery—by their own blood which they were willing to pour out like water—by the COMMON FAITH and in the NAME, which unites all christians, that they would extend to them, at least some token of compassionate regard"—then it was that the voice of this unfaltering friend and eloquent advocate of UNIVERSAL FREEDOM, assumed its loftiest tone, and sent forth, to animate and energize the hearts of struggling millions, such burning appeals to the justice of the whole civilized world against oppression—such thrilling strains of enthusiastic devotion to liberal opinions, as woke a responsive echo—a relenting sympathy, even in the stern bosoms of Spanish cruelty and Turkish despotism.

Domestic discord has, on two occasions, menaced the peace and safety of our glorious Union. The admission of Missouri aroused into rancorous conflict, the antagonist forces of Slavery and Freedom, which, had not the commanding influence and conciliatory course of Mr. Clay interposed to avert, might have resulted in the disruption of the Union.

South Carolina Nullification attempted to array the power of State sovereignty against the authority of the general government, in arrest of the execution of national laws. The brave, iron-willed man then at the head of the nation, backed by the strong arm of the Defender of the Constitution, and by the still more efficient power of the bayonets of all the rest of the Union, was bearing down with terriffic energy upon this erring, weak, but high-souled member of the confederacy; while a terrified Congress was rushing forward, with hot haste, to the overthrow of that system of protection which upheld and sustained the whole vast mechanical and manufacturing industry of the country. This was indeed a fearful crisis in our national affairs—the general government in ARMED COLLISION with a sovereign State, and a strong sympathy existing between the people of that State and a large *section* of the Union! Had not the lofty moral courage, the great personal influence, and the elevated patriotism of Henry Clay interposed, God only knows what would have been the result of such a sanguinary, fraternal conflict! Then was reserved to that great man the most glorious triumph of accomplished statesmanship of which modern civilization can boast. By one master stroke of policy, he stayed the thunderbolts of national power, and turned aside the black cloud which was bursting upon the great industrial pursuits of the country. The friends of free government—the friends of the Union, and the friends of American labor, will bless the peace-maker forever.

But as all the other Planets, though themselves of great brilliancy and power, recede from our vision and are lost in the superior effulgence of the great Central Luminary of the Universe, so are the other distinguished acts of Mr. Clay's public career—though each sufficient to fill the measure of almost any other great man's renown—overshadowed by the superior magnitude of his own great system of PROTECTION to the labor of his country.—

This is the crowning glory of his life. And whether he succeeds or fails in the coming election, his name and his renown will be as eternal as the water-falls of the land, whose banks his wise and patriotic policy has peopled, beautified and blessed, with thousands of delightful villages—the happy homes of millions of free, intelligent, independent laboring men and women.

JAMES K. POLK, is the presidential candidate of the party which calls itself "DEMOCRATIC." Mr. Polk, for aught I know, is a respectable man in *private* life. He has acquired no distinguished reputation in his profession, even in his own State, and has no national reputation as a statesman. He has been a member of Congress, and a *party* Speaker of the House of Representatives. He has had ample opportunities to display his abilities if he possessed them, yet who ever heard him named among the great men of the country? He is in point of talents, the *baldest* candidate ever presented to the American people for their Chief Magistrate. The men who have heretofore been named for the first office of the Republic, have been distinguished for a high order of talent, and nearly all of them, for eminent public services, either in the field or the public councils. What has James K. Polk ever *done* to recommend him to the people for the high office to which he aspires? His friends have been challenged to point to a single speech or Congressional Report of *marked ability*, which he has ever made. It is not pretended that he has ever originated, proposed or advocated any great system of public policy, calculated to promote the prosperity of the people, or advance the greatness and glory of his country. His Congressional career of twelve years was distinguished for nothing but the most violent and uncompromising opposition and hostility to the protective policy—opposition to the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands—opposition to Revolutionary pensions—opposition to the *reception* of anti-slavery *petitions*—opposition to the *suppression* of the *foreign slave trade*, and his *support* of the SUB-TREASURY LAW, which the *people* distinctly *vetoed* by results of the election of 1840.

Mr. Polk is a candidate for the Presidency by means of a *base fraud* upon the majority of the democratic party, and is supported under *false pretences*, by his political friends every where in the free States. It is a well established fact, that Mr. Van Buren, ninety days previous to the meeting of the National Democratic Convention, was the choice of nineteen twentieths of that party in the free States, and of a large majority of the same party in the slave States. Two-thirds of the delegates to that Convention were instructed by their constituents to nominate Mr. Van Buren, and a majority of whom actually voted for him on the first ballot. Why then, was he not nominated? The democratic party had vaunted loudly and long of their determination to retrieve the fortunes, and vindicate the principles of their great leader, at this Presidential election—why, then, did they not place themselves in a position to do it? It was not because Mr. Van Buren was not immeasurably superior in talents to Mr. Polk. It was not because they differed relative to a single question of American policy—a single principle or doctrine of the democratic creed. The reason why Mr. Van Buren was ingloriously set aside, and James K. Polk, who had never been thought of for the office, substituted, is one most disreputable to the leaders of the democratic party. During the last winter, a set of *Texas Speculators*, holding some fifteen or twenty millions of *Texas Scrip*, which they had purchased at five and seven cents on the dollar, started the bold project of the ANNEXATION of TEXAS—a *foreign slave territory*—to this Union; hoping thereby to bring up their really worthless scrip to a par value, and thus secure to themselves princely fortunes.

The slave interest of the South, with Mr. Calhoun at their head, ever *jealous of the increasing* political preponderance of the free States, cordial-

ly united in their plan of Texas annexation for the twofold object of extending and perpetuating negro slavery, and the NULLIFICATION of his hated political rival, Mr. Van Buren. A treaty, annexing Texas to this Union, securing the payment of *ten millions* of dollars to *Texas scrip holders*, and continuing African slavery on the soil of Texas, was negotiated and rejected by the Senate. But, not to be thus foiled, these same Texas *stock jobbers*, *land jobbers*, and *flesh jobbers*, whom Senator Benton, in a recent speech, represented as "*foul* and *voracious birds*, who saw *their prey* in the late *treaty of Annexation*, and spared no effort to *secure* it," and who had been hovering over the capitol while that treaty was pending before the Senate, "*defiling* and *polluting*" the seats of power, and making the city of Washington a disgusting "*Buzzard roost*"—rushed like so many HARPIES upon *the National Democratic Convention*, obtained the absolute control of its proceedings, and addressing themselves to the cupidity of the northern democratic leaders, held up to them the *golden spoils* of office as a reward for the treacherous abandonment of their OLD principles and their *favorite* candidate, who had in a public letter condemned the Texas project—and the nomination of James K. Polk, from whom these speculators had previously obtained a positive pledge "in favor of the *immediate annexation* of Texas to the territory and government of the United States" was the result—a result effected by a combination of the basest intrigue, treachery and fraud ever attempted to be practiced upon a confiding party. "Had Mr. Van Buren come out for the immediate annexation of Texas," says Gen. Jackson in a public letter, "HE would have received the *unanimous* vote of the Baltimore Convention." "The *rejection* of Mr. Van Buren by the Baltimore Convention," says Col. Benton, "was an intrigue which nullified the choice of the People, the rights of the People, and the principles of the People."

Mr. Polk is, under these circumstances, before the American People, the Texas candidate, pledged, and nominated because he was previously pledged, in favor of "the immediate annexation of Texas to this Union." The people of the free States should know, and ACT upon the assurance, that if Mr. Polk is elected to the Presidency, Texas will be annexed. When the Texas interest has already proved itself strong enough to nullify the instructions of a majority of the members of the National Democratic Convention—to set aside the ascertained will of a large majority of the democratic party—to throw Mr. Van Buren overboard, and make a Presidential candidate for *itself*, can any man doubt that, when flushed with success and victory, it will be able to hold Mr. Polk to his pledge, and the democratic party to its bond? The success of Mr. Polk will be considered, and justly considered by them, as a Texas triumph. They will not brook the least delay. They will not await the slow and uncertain process of another Treaty, which it is necessary that a *two third's* vote of the Senate should ratify, but they will march up boldly and proudly demand of the whole Polk party *immediate annexation* by a public act requiring only a simple party majority. Is there a man weak enough to suppose that the northern democratic leaders, who last May went to Baltimore, *opposed* to annexation, and there on the first ballot voted for the Presidential candidate who had just publicly declared himself *opposed* to annexation, yet who, after a single night spent with the Texas speculators, on the very next day changed front and traitorously deserting their great leader and their old principles, united in the nomination of a pledged Texas candidate, and afterwards submissively voted for the passage of a resolution pledging the whole Democratic Party to go for Texas annexation, would, if Mr. Polk should be elected,

have either honesty or moral courage enough to resist the then swollen current of annexation for a single moment! No—they would not DARE to disappoint those men. The proud and imperious spirits who compelled them to submit to their insolent dictation at the Baltimore Convention would dash the *party*, as they are even now in case of defeat, disposed to dash the UNION, into ten thousand fragments, rather than yield up the prize for which they had contended. It is idle to suppose that the *Texas scrip holders*, who are now bleeding so freely to ensure success—pouring out their money like water to carry the election, which they expect, and have good reason to expect, will secure annexation, and with that princely fortunes to themselves, would then remain more quiet than half famished wolves, without their promised prey. It is as certain as any future event can be, that if Mr. Polk should be elected, Texas will be annexed, and be annexed upon just such terms as the *slave interest* and the *Texas scrip holders* may demand.

Are the people of Rhode Island, then, prepared for the inevitable consequences of the *immediate annexation* of Texas? Are they prepared to incur national dishonor, by such a shameful violation of our solemn treaty obligatins with Mexico? Are they prepared for the assumption, by our government, of the untold millions of Texas debt, which it never contracted—which is now held by men who paid only 5 and 7 cents on the dollar for it, but which our government would have to pay at par, or subject itself to the infamy of repudiation? Are they, above all, prepared for "A FOREIGN, CIVIL, SERVILE and INDIAN WAR," which the ablest diplomatist in the world, John Quincy Adams, assures us that "the annexation of Texas to this Union will be *the blast of the trumpet for*"? And are they prepared to incur this national dishonor—to assume such an immense foreign debt—and to meet the horrors of such a war, against the sober convictions of a vast majority of the people of the free States, and at the imminent hazard of the dissolution of the Union, for the ignoble and unhallowed purpose of strengthening the bonds, enlarging the influence, and perpetuating the existence of human slavery, and of securing forever to the SLAVE POWER a decided political preponderance in the councils of our free government?

These are matters of the deepest interest to the people of this State and of this country. They deserve to be seriously considered, and duly weighed, before it is too late to escape from them. THEY ARE ALL CERTAIN TO FOLLOW THE ELECTION OF JAMES K. POLK TO THE PRESIDENCY. These impending national evils, resulting from the proposed annexation of Texas to this Union, will be avoided by the election of HENRY CLAY, who says, in a letter of the 23d of the last month:—

"I AM DECIDEDLY OPPOSED to the IMMEDIATE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS TO THE UNITED STATES. I THINK IT WOULD BE DISHONORABLE, MIGHT INVOLVE THEM IN A WAR, would be DANGEROUS TO THE INTEGRITY AND HARMONY OF THE UNION, and if all these objections were removed, COULD NOT BE EFFECTED, according to any information I possess, upon JUST AND ADMISSIBLE CONDITIONS."

I have said that Mr. Polk is not only a candidate for the Presidency by means of a bold and base *fraud*, practiced upon a majority of the democratic party, but is now supported, by his leading political friends, *upon false* and *fraudulent pretences*. Is not this strictly true? Does not every man, at all conversant with public affairs, know that James K. Polk, during the whole twelve years that he was in Congress, uniformly, at all times and on all occasions, spoke and voted *against* the *protective policy*—that during his canvass for the office of Governor of Tennessee the last year, in all his public *letters, and all his public* addresses, he invariably declared himself *opposed to the present tariff*, and to the *whole policy* of protection, and that his elec-

tion is *now* distinctly advocated *in his own county—in his own State*—and throughout the South, upon the ground that it will effect the *repeal* of the Tariff of 1842, and the *subversion* of the whole *protective policy*—yet in Pennsylvania, in New York, in New Jersey, and in New England, he is *fraudulently* held up by the *party leaders*, as a *friend* to the *Tariff of* 1842, and "*as good a Tariff man as Mr. Clay!*" It remains to be seen whether such gross frauds can be successfully practiced upon the popular mind. If the result of this election shall prove that there is not *intelligence* enough in the mass of the people to discover the impositions of interested party leaders—to detect the frauds of unprincipled demagogues, or that there is not public *virtue* enough to brand such frauds and impositions, when detected, as they deserve, this last experiment of popular institutions upon earth, will, I fear, soon share the sad fate of those which have preceded it—and the Genius of *Free Government* find, in this fair land, a *grave*, upon whose dark, eternal night the light of no resurrection morning will ever dawn.

We should not yet, however, despair of the Republic. With such a glorious cause, and such a noble candidate, and with such gallant champions, and such a fearless press, every where to maintain and support them—to expose error, fraud and falsehood, and advocate true doctrines, and correct political principles, we *will not despair of the Republic.* I have too much confidence in the intelligence and virtue of the American people to believe, for a moment, that either *Texas Scrip* or *British Gold* —that *bold political frauds, base Birney coalitions*, or *ruffian force*, will be able to bribe, divert or drive them from the true allegiance which they owe to their own goverment—from the full and faithful performance of their duty to the country. I believe that *right* and *justice* will *prevail*, that *truth* and *patriotism* will *triumph*, in the result of this election—that the UNION will *remain, as it is*—that the *Tariff* will *continue, as it is*—that *Polk will stay, where he is*—and that under the wise and splended administration of HENRY CLAY, the Republic will start off upon a new and loftier career of prosperity, power, and national renown.

But to assure a "consummation so devoutly to be wished" as the election of Henry Clay, it is the duty of every true Whig to labor with zeal and energy—in season and out of season. In politics as well as in religion, "*faith, without works,*" is lifeless and unprofitable. What the Whig cause now most needs, in my opinion, is close, thorough, effective, minute *organization—sleepless vigilance—untiring activity*—and *hard work* in every school district in the country. Full and correct information upon the great questions at issue, should be every where circulated. The principles and merits of the two candidates should be canvassed and compared. The Whigs have much to hope from such a canvass and comparison. The principles of Mr. Clay are approved by a vast majority of his countrymen; and upon them alone can the government be administered for the benefit and prosperity of the people. Mr. Clay is so immeasurably superior to Mr. Polk in point of talents, statesmanship, long experience in public affairs, and eminent public services, that it seems almost ridiculous to institute a comparison between them. The one has stood for thirty years at the head of his profession in the UNION—the other, ranks in the second or third class of lawyers in the State of Tennessee. The one has always been the eloquent advocate, the noble champion of freedom—wherever on the whole earth her banner has been unfurled,—the other gave his vote in Congress *against the suppression of the foreign slave trade*, and is *now for the immediate annexation of Texas* to this Union! The one has twice carried through Congress his own beneficent measure of the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands, and has built up a great system of public policy which gives *bread* and *profitable* employment and happy homes, to thre

millions of the American people, and prosperity to *all other interests*—the other has proposed no beneficial measure—done nothing for the benefit of his country—and has left no where, in his public career, a single trace of distinguished statesmanship. Can any man entertain such distrust of the popular intelligence as to doubt which of these two candidates the American people will prefer for their Chief Magistrate?

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The prospect before us is bright and cheering. The Whig cause and the Whig candidates are destined to achieve a noble triumph at the approaching election. Mr. Clay is as sure of his election as if the electoral votes were cast, counted, and the result declared. He will go into the high office of the Presidency after a full and thorough canvass, by the people, of the great principles and measures of public policy with which his name is indissolubly connected. His election will, under these circumstances, be a TRIUMPH OF PRINCIPLE—honorable alike to him, who, by a long life of eminent public service, so well deserves it, and to the popular intelligence and virtue, illustrated by so just an appreciation of his public character and conduct. And I have the most entire confidence that Mr. Clay will administer the government with such distinguished ability, and in a spirit of such lofty and devoted patriotism as to satisfy all—even those who may now be predetermined not to be satisfied—that the high objects at which he aims are those which GOD and his COUNTRY will approve—the prosperity and happiness of the whole people—the GREATNESS AND GLORY OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

HAMILTON.

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